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THE

# LIFE AND TIMES

OF

# FRANCIS THE FIRST,

King of France.

35164-b.
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ac

BY JAMES BACON, ESQ.

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THE

# LIFE AND TIMES

OF

# FRANCIS THE FIRST.

## CHAPTER X.

1525. State of France in consequence of the battle of Pavia.

The news of the defeat at Pavia fell upon the kingdom of France with an overwhelming force, which shook it to its very centre. Under the first impression of this calamity, the destruction of the kingdom was thought to be inevitable. The captivity of the king and the annihilation of the army, seemed to have deprived the devoted nation at once of means and motives for withstanding the torrent of disasters which were ready to pour over it. Individual griefs were mingled with the national misfortunes; France's bravest champions and wisest councillors lay dead upon the field at Pavia: an universal mourning pervaded the land, and the dejection of spirit which naturally accompanies such sorrow, had destroyed hope and paralysed exertion. The reins of the government were in the hands of the duchess d'An-

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goulême, whose character commanded neither confidence nor respect, and the public dislike of her was now heightened by the belief that her's and her favourite's counsels had mainly contributed to the disgrace and ruin which had befallen France.

If at this moment some bold spirit, able and disposed to direct the popular discontent, had arisen, there can be little doubt, that the horrors of civil war would have been added to the other disasters which the country experienced. If Bourbon could now have led his bands into France, or if the English monarch had put in practice the invasion he had threatened, the sceptre must have passed away from the grasp of the captive king; but her good fortune or the wisdom of her rulers saved the nation from so lamentable a fate. (*a*)

In this time of peril, the regent by the promptness and sagacity of her measures, atoned in some degree for the faults she had before committed. She assembled the princes of the blood, and the governors of the several provinces, to advise with her respecting the means to be adopted for the liberation of the king and the national security. She conciliated the parlia-

Measures adopted by the regent.

(*a*) Bourbon endeavoured to persuade Henry to send him supplies, particularly of artillery, and assist him in his enterprise of attacking France, the crown of which he again offered to set on the head of the English monarch.—MSS. Cott. Vitell. B. vii.—Turner's Henry VIII. c. 14. Appendix, No. VIII.

ment, which had manifested symptoms of disobedience, and treated their demands with respect; while, instead of complying with them, she employed the members in the useful and now necessary occupation of regulating and protecting the public finances.

The nation had now no other organized body of troops than that small detachment which Francis had sent on the ill-advised expedition to Naples, and even this force had been much reduced by desertions consequent upon the defeat at Pavia. They were immediately recalled; and, as it was impossible for them to make their way through Italy, every foot of which was now occupied by their enemies, Andrea Doria and La Fayette were dispatched with their galleys from Marseilles to Civita Vecchia, where this miserable remnant of the large army, at the head of which Francis had marched into Italy, embarked and so returned to France. The regent insured the attachment of the soldiery by paying them their arrears; and gained still greater popularity by ransoming such of the prisoners as were in the hands of the imperialists, and were unable to obtain their discharges of their own means. Another evil menaced the German frontier. An insurrection of the peasantry had taken place in Alsatia,, and had spread so rapidly, that a disorderly host of fifteen thousand men were in arms, and had actually invaded the provinces of Burgundy and Champagne. They professed to be the partisans of the reformed religion, the

Dangerous insurrection of the German peasantry defeated on the French frontier.

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doctrines of which they so far misunderstood, as to make them the pretexts for the most licentious outrages. By a perverse interpretation of the scriptural doctrine of a community of goods, which applied to the Christian church in its origin only, they had taken up arms for the dangerous purpose of restoring that state of things, and pursued it with all the blindness of ignorance and the violence of bigotry. The promptness with which the count de Guise repelled their incursion, preserved his country. He raised a force of six thousand men, with which he encountered the rebel rout of German fanatics; defeated them with great slaughter; and scattered the miserable remnant so effectually, that nothing was to be feared from their reunion.

This success, and the prudent and conciliatory measures adopted by the regent and her council, restored in some degree the confidence of the nation. The people began to take a cooler and more just view of their situation, and a universal desire to repair evils which were now inevitable, succeeded to the dangerous panic, and still more dangerous apathy in which they had been plunged.

The regent negociates for the king's ransom.

The regent dispatched envoys to the courts of all the potentates whose influence she thought might assist in procuring the liberation of her son; but in the first place she sought to propitiate the victorious emperor With that refined hypocrisy which he had practised so long, that it had become habitual, Charles at first affected

The conduct of the emperor on the victory.

to receive the news of Francis's defeat with moderation and even humility. The dispatches were brought to him, when he was surrounded by foreign ambassadors, and by the nobles of his own country. As soon as he had read them, without uttering one word or manifesting by any outward sign the satisfaction which he must have felt, he withdrew to his oratory, and in a prayer, which lasted for an hour, he thanked God that the result of the battle had afforded him an opportunity of pardoning his enemies, of rewarding his friends, of pacifying Christendom, and of turning its united arms against its dangerous enemies the Turks. Upon his return to the presence chamber, he in the first place forbade all public rejoicings, which, he said, befitted only a victory against the enemies of religion, and replied with a mortified and humble air to the congratulations which were offered him, turning the discourse to the proposed crusade, which he would have had them believe was the object nearest his heart.

Although it is impossible to penetrate the secret workings of men's minds, the history of Charles's whole life proves the gross and miserable falsehood of his pretensions on this occasion. It was a part of his character to hide from all observers his real intentions, and the cunning and dissimulation which he now practised, were in perfect keeping with that character. With a wary eye, and a determination which no compunctious visitings could shake, he con-

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templated the state of Europe. He saw, more clearly perhaps than her own politicians, that France, shaken as she was, yet possessed resources which must have made the result of an invasion hazardous in the extreme. His own army, composed for the greater part of mercenaries, could hardly be said to be under his command. With such ungovernable spirits to lead it, as Bourbon and Pescara, whose ambition he suspected, and whose power he feared, he knew that his mere bidding would not effectually direct its operations. The soldiers too were ill-paid, and his resources scanty. He would willingly have been master of France, but he had no desire to ruin it; still less to share it with the king of England, of whose pretensions he was perfectly aware. The various interests of the Italian potentates opened other sources of anxiety, and required him to act with great caution. The Pope's fidelity to his engagements was questionable; the Venetians had shewn great hesitation in fulfilling their treaty; and the minor states, although singly insignificant, might, in confederacy, have neutralized the advantages of the battle of Pavia. For the security of the captive monarch's person, nothing less than a large army would suffice: the occupation of the Milanese by that army had impoverished the country; and the soldiers began to raise a threatening clamour for the arrears of pay which were due to them, and for which they considered they held Francis in person as a security.

These reasons, backed by the extravagant demands of the king of England, inclined Charles to adopt in earnest the moderate measures which he had, perhaps delusively, announced. He replied to the envoys of the regent, by granting a truce of six months, during which the negociation for Francis's liberation were to be carried on, and accepted graciously the compliment which Francis paid him, by ordering the release, without ransom, of the prisoners in France, among whom was Ugo de Moncada, the friend of Lannoy, the emperor's most confidential favourite.

A truce for six months is agreed to.

Lannoy had been indefatigable in securing by his negociations the Italian potentates; and, by a supply of money which he had raised, he tranquillized for a time the tumultuous soldiery.

The liberation of the French king was debated in the imperial councils. The advice of the bishop of Osma was, that the captive should be set free without any other condition than that he should marry the queen Eleanora, Charles's sister; by which generous use of his victory Charles would secure his rival's friendship and assistance, and convince all Europe of the purity of his motives. The chancellor Gattinara counselled the Emperor to keep Francis in perpetual imprisonment; and, having thus neutralized his most dangerous opponent, to proceed single-handed in his glorious enterprise against the Turks. The duke of Alba advised him to exact as large a sum, and to impose conditions as rigorous as were possible on Francis's liberation, by which

The French king's liberation is debated in Spain.

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means he would at once fetter his rival's power, impoverish the resources of France, and fill his own exhausted treasury. The last of these varying counsels was that which suited best the genius of Charles, and was adopted by him. He dispatched the count de Roeux to his captive at Pizzighitone, to offer him his liberation on condition that he would cede to the emperor his claims on Naples and Milan; relinquish to him the duchy of Burgundy, and give up his sovereignty over Flanders and Artois; that he would detach from his realm, in favour of Bourbon, to whom he was to be reconciled, Provence and the other estates which the constable had possessed, and form of them an independent kingdom, of which Bourbon was to be monarch; and lastly, that Francis should make to the king of England full compensation for all that he claimed, and that Charles had undertaken to assist him to recover.

Terms proposed by the emperor.

Francis's disappointment and despair at hearing terms so exorbitant, when he had been induced by the emperor's behaviour to imagine that his liberation would be much more easily effected, threw him into a transport of indignation; he drew his dagger, and swore, emphatically, that he would rather end his days with that weapon, and by his own hands, than submit to conditions so degrading and so ruinous. (a) It is probable that by this gesture Francis only expressed the angry impatience which the unreasonable insolence of the proposal had excited;

Francis indignantly rejects them, and proposes others.

(a) Du Bellay, l. iii.

but it was so violent, that Alarçon, who stood by, mistook it for a more dangerous intention, and, seizing his arm, besought him to be more temperate. Francis, after some further consideration, dismissed the count de Roeux with a rejection of the emperor's terms, and with an offer, on his own part, to comply with the following :—That he would marry the queen Eleanora, and settle upon the issue of their marriage the duchy of Burgundy ; that he would pardon Bourbon, give him his sister, the duchess d'Alençon, who had lately become a widow, (*a*) in marriage, and restore to him the whole of his possessions ; that he would discharge the emperor's engagements with the king of England, pay a large ransom, and furnish Charles with troops when he went to Rome to celebrate his coronation.

The discontent of the emperor's generals in Italy.

The delay which this negociation had occasioned had occupied some portion of the truce without bringing the king's liberation nearer to a conclusion. The danger of leaving Francis in the hands of an army wholly devoted to Bourbon and Pescara was sensibly felt by the emperor, and he knew, too, that the discontent which he had occasioned to both those leaders

(*a*) The Duke d'Alençon, whose disgraceful retreat had contributed, in no small degree, to the defeat of his countrymen at Pavia, escaped, and reached Lyons soon after the battle, where he died on the 25th of April, 1525. His death is said to have been hastened, if not occasioned, by the contempt and reproach which he everywhere encountered for his cowardice and misconduct.

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well justified his fears. Bourbon complained loudly that the emperor had not performed one article of the promises he had made him, and boasted, as the truth was, that the emperor's soldiers loved him better, and would obey him more implicitly, than their sovereign. Pescara, who had demanded of the emperor the county of Carpi as the reward for his share of the victory of Pavia, was mortified and disappointed, in the highest degree, at seeing Vespasian Colonna, a young man of no pretensions, preferred to him, and that preference excused by the emperor, for no better reason than an old promise alleged to have been made to his father. Lannoy increased the emperor's fears by representing to him the ill-concealed disaffection of his generals, and thus procured from him instructions to withdraw the prisoner from their custody, if by any means that could be effected.

Lannoy persuades Francis to go to Spain for the purpose of treating for his ransom.

Lannoy, who was believed to be one of the most adroit intriguers of his time, executed this difficult task in a manner which fully maintained his reputation. He insinuated to Francis, that if by any means an interview between himself and the emperor could be brought about, his liberation would be speedily and certainly effected. Francis, to whom his captivity had become extremely irksome, eagerly consented to this proposal; Lannoy crowned his scheme by inducing the royal prisoner to provide the means for transporting himself to a safer place of keeping in Spain; and Montmorenci was sent by the king

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to his mother, with orders that seven of his own galleys should sail from the port of Marseilles to Genoa for that purpose. Lannoy's next object was to deceive the imperial generals, who had determined not to let Francis quit Italy until their demands were satisfied. He called a council; represented to them that, in the present state of the Milanese, the king was not in sufficient security at Pizzighitone; exaggerated the reports which prevailed, and which he knew were unfounded, of plots forming for Francis's liberation; and finally convinced them that Naples was a place of much greater safety than any other part of Italy. It was agreed that Lannoy should carry the king thither, and that Bourbon and Pescara should withdraw their armies from the Milanese, which they had completely exhausted, to that more fertile territory, of which Lannoy was viceroy. With a precaution which they thought effectual, they accompanied their prisoner to Genoa, where they saw him embark, and the squadron make sail for Naples. Lannoy kept on this course for two days, and maintained his deception so well, that even Francis began to fear he was really taking him to Naples. At the end of the second day he sailed directly for the Spanish coast; and after a short voyage, during which the wind carried them so near the Isles d'Hières that Francis had the bitter joy of seeing his own dominions, they landed safely at Alicant. Immediately upon their landing, a tumult broke out among the soldiers who had ac-

Deceives Bourbon and Pescara.

Affects to sail for Naples.

Lands with his prisoner in Spain.

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Francis in danger from a mutiny of the guard, which he appeases.

companied them, which placed the lives both of the king and of Lannoy in danger. The soldiery thought this a favourable moment for demanding their arrears of pay, and assembled in arms before the house in which the king was lodged. Lannoy appeared at the window, endeavoured to pacify them with promises and fair words, to which they replied by discharging their fire-arms at him. Many of the balls entered the chamber in which the king was standing. With that prompt courage which he always displayed in times of danger, Francis approached the window, and with dignified good nature, he in a few words appeased the soldiers, and by distributing some money among them and promising them more, he changed their threats and imprecations into expressions in his favour; and might, it is believed, if he had taken advantage of this critical moment, and of the affection with which upon his voyage he had inspired the soldiery, have induced them to reimbark and make sail with him for his own dominions, which, as Brantome says, in relating this affair, would have been a master stroke. (*a*)

Francis honourably received in Spain.

The emperor, upon receiving the welcome news of his prisoner's arrival in his own dominions, ordered him to be treated with all the honours which became his rank; assigned for his residence the fortress of Sciativa, in Valentia, and afterwards a palace in Madrid. He loaded Lannoy with praises and rewards, and raised by his

(*a*) Brantome. Hommes Illust.

favour the insolent presumption of that dishonourable favourite to so high a pitch, that he assumed to himself all the credit of the victory of Pavia. CHAP. X.

Bourbon and Pescara burned with indignation at the fraud which had been practised upon them, and still more at the assistance which they had been induced to render to the plot by which they had been outwitted. The former repaired to Madrid, to urge his complaints in person, and accused Lannoy to his beard of perfidy in his councils and of disgraceful cowardice in the field; while Pescara repeated the same charges in a letter of angry and virulent invective. (*a*) Bourbon and Pescara accuse Lannoy of treachery and cowardice.

The suspicion and disgust which Bourbon's rebellion had inspired in the breasts of the haughty nobles of Castile, disinclined them however to listen to his complaints; and it was now that he experienced the bitterness and hopelessness of his situation, and found that his valour and his virtue were held light in comparison with the successful perfidy of a worthless courtier. The king treated him with apparent civility, but there was mingled with his most flattering dis- Bourbon is ill received by the Spanish nobility.

(*a*) Pescara says, "Si l'on eut cru ce lache, on eût perdu tout le Milanés par une fuite honteuse vers le royaume de Naples, des les premiers mouvemens du duc d'Albanie. A la bataille de Pavie il ne savoit ni ordonner ni combattre; il n'avoit ni tête ni cœur; il s'ecrioit sans cesse avec un effroi qui le rendoit meprisable au moindre soldat: 'Ah! nous sommes perdus.' S'il ose dementir ces faits, je les lui soutiendrai l'épée à la main."—Brantome, Capit. Etrang.

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tinctions, a cold dissimulation which ill concealed his want of confidence in him. In every other quarter he was received with distrust and dislike. (*a*)

The states of Italy propose to attack the emperor.

Pescara, who remained in Italy, was so loud and angry in the expression of his discontent, that some of the states, who bore the emperor's yoke with impatience, and feared his ambition, began to found hopes for their deliverance upon his disaffection. Sforza, whose duchy was burthened, and its resources exhausted, by the maintenance of the imperial army, and by Charles's exactions, formed the design of relieving himself. Morone, his chancellor, planned a league against the emperor, in which France, England, the Pope, and the states of Florence and Venice were to be included; and the ultimate object of which was to be the liberation of Italy. To insure the success of this plan, it was necessary to engage the assistance of Pescara and his army, and to him Morone applied, offering him, in the name of the Pope, the investiture of the kingdom of

The details of the plot are communicated to Pescara, who discloses and defeats it.

(*a*) It was with difficulty that he could obtain a suitable residence. A story is told of a Castilian nobleman, the marquis de Villana, whom the king had requested to lend Bourbon his palace, which strongly displays the impression that had been adopted against him. "I can refuse nothing that your majesty requires of me;" replied the marquis, "the palace is at the service of the duke of Bourbon as long as he may choose to occupy it; but I protest, that as soon as he quits it, I will have it burnt to the ground, as a house polluted by the presence of a traitor, and unfit for the habitation of any person of honour."—Brantome.

Naples, as the reward of his perfidy. Pescara affected to listen favourably to the proposition which the chancellor made him; but pretending some scruples as to the justice of such a proceeding, required the sanction of some of the most celebrated jurisconsults of Rome and Milan, who gave it as their solemn opinion, that he might lawfully transfer his obedience from the emperor, who was at most only a feudatory, to the Pope, who was the sovereign lord of Naples. Pescara revealed this plot to the emperor, in the hope, as it is believed, that he should receive from his gratitude, that same crown of Naples which was offered as the reward of his treachery. By Charles's direction he affected still to entertain favourably the propositions made to him on the part of Sforza, and invited Morone to visit him at Navarre. It was at this interview that Pescara played a master-stroke of perfidy. He had concealed Antonio da Leyva behind the hangings of the room in which he received the chancellor; and while da Leyva was thus within ear-shot, Pescara drew Morone into a detailed description of the several ramifications of his plot, one part of which was to put to death da Leyva, the hidden witness of the conference. When it was concluded, and as Morone was about to depart, da Leyva met him at the bottom of the stairs, and arrested him in the name of the emperor. His capture completely broke up the meditated plot: the strong places in the Milanese were taken

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possession of in the name of the emperor; and Sforza prepared to defend himself with a resolution which partook of despair. There could be little doubt that the whole of the Milanese would soon have been in Charles's possession, but for the sudden death of Pescara, who expired after a short illness, at the age of six and thirty, in the full enjoyment of a reputation for high and exalted military skill, which was however tarnished by his presumptuous pride and his inclination to perfidy wherever it might serve his ends. (*a*)

The fortresses of the Milanese taken, and Sforza attacked.

The death of Pescara.

A league is formed against the emperor.

So important were his services considered in Italy, that the emperor's strength appeared to be greatly diminished by his death. The league acquired considerable force; the Pope determined to assist its operation; the Venetians declared themselves openly; and the queen regent of France promised to furnish five hundred lances, and a monthly payment of forty thousand ducats to be employed in raising a body of Swiss, while at the same time she promised to make an attack upon the Spanish frontier for the purpose of preventing the emperor from sending troops into Italy. Charles observed these indications of hostility with anxiety, if not with alarm, but yet could not persuade him-

(*a*) Pescara recommended his wife, Vittoria Colonna, whom he had always loved with the warmest affection; and his troop of Spanish infantry, the companions of his military exploits, to the care of his cousin, the marquis du Guast, who inherited his fortune.

self to take any honest step towards the liberation of Francis, by which he might at once have tranquillized his enemies.

The appearance of negociation was however still kept up, but as the emperor, under various pretexts, avoided a personal interview with his captive, Jean de Selve, the president of the parliament of Paris, and the bishops of Tarbes and Embrun, were appointed on the part of France to treat with him for the liberation of their sovereign.

Negociations with England.

The regent had in the mean time been earnestly endeavouring to engage the king of England to assist in accomplishing this object. Soon after the battle of Pavia, Gioacchino Passano, a Genoese, whom she had before employed at the court of Henry VIII. was sent thither again with instructions to use every argument that his ingenuity could suggest, and even to resort to submissive entreaties and persuasions, which, however unusual in diplomatic negociations, might not seem unbecoming on the part of a mother, who earnestly sought the freedom of her son and her sovereign. The distrust which the king of England had begun to entertain of the emperor, powerfully seconded the efforts of the envoy. Upon the first news of Francis's defeat, Henry had celebrated it in London by a public religious ceremony, as an event advantageous to himself and his country. He had addressed a proposition to Charles for a joint

Henry and his minister's dislike of the emperor.

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invasion of France, which was rejected in such a manner as convinced him that the emperor was willing to take all the honour and advantage of his recent victory to himself. Wolsey, who was more than ever dissatisfied with the emperor's conduct respecting the election to the papacy, encouraged this impression, and fomented the growing dislike between the monarchs, of which he had been the first occasion. He spoke of the emperor and his adherents in terms of bitter insolence, and these being repeated in the Spanish court, Charles thought them important enough to be made the subject of a remonstrance to Henry. (*a*) He discontinued the cordial style

(*a*) Charles having first complained to the English ambassador in his own court, sent a state secretary to England to give the particular details. The first point complained of was an insidious insertion that the emperor was aspiring to the monarchy of Europe; the second was more personal and poignant. "His majesty said also, that your grace hath named him to be a lyar, observing no manner of faith or promise; that my lady Margaret was a ribawde; don Ferdinando, his brother, a child, and so governed; and the duke of Bourbon a traitor." The time of the cardinal's uttering these expressions was carefully marked, and the additional insult noted, with which he had refused the request that had occasioned them.* The English embassy could only assure Charles that the prime minister had frequently panegyrised him; who expressly told them that he should judge of the truth of their allegations by Wolsey's future conduct.—Turner's Henry VIII., c. xv.

* "Then he said that your grace answered, that the king's highness had other things to do with his money than to spend it for the pleasures of such fair personages," expressing the aforesaid words.—MSS. Cotton. Vesp. C. iii. p. 55.

of his epistles, (*a*) and having entered into a treaty for a marriage with the daughter of the king of Portugal, he applied to Henry to be released from his engagement to marry the princess Mary of England. The king complied with his request, and, although no open rupture took place, Henry was induced to think of effecting a separate peace with France. To give a colour to this proceeding he resorted again to the character of "preserver of the peace of Europe," which he assumed and laid down, as his interest prompted; and under the pretext of defending France against the aggressions of Austria, he entered into a treaty with the French regent, in which however his own pecuniary advantage was the prominent feature. (*b*) The terms of that treaty, which, even if they had been more exorbitant, the French cabinet was in no situation to reject, were, that he should receive in satisfaction of his claims, two million crowns, payable by instalments, and an annual pension of one hundred thousand crowns. Besides these he required the Lady Regent to engage to pay to the duchess of Suffolk the stipend to which, as queen dowager, she was entitled, and all past arrears; and to give to Wolsey, who upon such occasions never forgot to provide for his

Henry concludes a defensive treaty with the regent.

Terms of the treaty.

(*a*) Before the battle of Pavia, Charles's letters to Henry had been in his own handwriting, and subscribed, "Votre fils et cousin Charles;" now they were always written by a secretary, and signed simply "Charles."—Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 580.

(*b*) 15th August, 1525. Rym. Fœd. 14, p. 49.

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own emolument, thirty thousand crowns in respect of his bishopric of Tournay, and a douceur of one hundred thousand crowns for services which he was supposed to have rendered to the French king. It was stipulated also that d'Aubigny should not return to Scotland until the king had been crowned. This treaty was confirmed by the oath of the regent, ratified by Francis himself; guaranteed by the nobility and states of France; and as a curious commentary on this transaction, the advocate-general and the procureur-general of the parliament of Paris immediately afterwards entered a protest against it in the secret register of the parliament, in order that Francis might avail himself of it when occasion should serve. (*a*) It was one of the understood articles of the treaty, that Henry should endeavour to procure the liberation of Francis; and this he performed earnestly, and, as Francis acknowledged, successfully.

Francis I falls ill.

Still however nothing effectual had been done towards Francis's liberation. Months had elapsed, the period of the truce had expired, the negociations were hardly moved in, and he was watched with the greatest closeness and rigour. (*b*)

(*a*) Le P. Daniel, t. vii.

(*b*) "The person of the French king is in keeping of captain Alarçon, which so narrowly seeth to him, that no word escapes him, nor is spoken to him, unmarked; nor no man, without the emperor's knowledge, speaketh with him, nor otherwise than openly. And we understand, by the emperor's counsel, that until the emperor and he shall be in a point in this treaty, the emperor will not speak with him, nor he shall not come nigh the court."—The bishop of London's

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The place of his present confinement was an old castle in Madrid, which had been selected on account of its great strength; and his jailor was one whose severity and jealous vigilance were constantly suggesting to him precautions which increased the irksomeness and humiliation of the French monarch's captivity. No person was allowed to have access to him without the permission of the emperor, and all kinds of difficulties were thrown in the way of obtaining that permission. Spies surrounded him at every turn while in the fortress, and when he was permitted to take exercise abroad, he was furnished with a slow-paced mule, and surrounded by a troop of guards well armed and mounted. Excepting the care which was thus taken to prevent the possibility of his escaping, every thing seemed to betoken an indifference to the captive monarch's condition, which augured ill for his wishes. He had been seven months in prison, and the emperor had never yet once seen him. Francis perceived that the expectations under which he had been induced to visit Spain were altogether frustrated by the deceitful procrastination of his enemy, while the pain and mortification of his imprisonment affected him so keenly that his health began to suffer.

The duchess d'Alençon visits him in Spain.

His sister, the duchess d'Alençon, who loved him with an affection so strong that it overlooked all peril, applied for and procured the

letter to Wolsey, dated from Toledo, 11th August, 1525.—MSS. Cotton. Vesp. c. iii. p. 95.

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emperor's safe-conduct, and permission to reside in Spain for two months. She then took a journey to Madrid for the purpose of consoling her brother's captivity, and of endeavouring to procure his freedom; and upon her arrival found him in an alarming illness, which threatened his life. The emperor, who was informed of it, now determined to visit his prisoner, and did so notwithstanding the remonstrances of Gattinara, who represented to him that if he sought him under such circumstances, he ought, for his own honour and reputation, to grant him his liberty without condition or ransom.

Charles visits his prisoner and promises him his freedom.

Charles found Francis in a state of extreme indisposition, and endeavoured by some unmeaning compliments, to console and reconcile him to his lot. Such of the details of this interview as have been preserved, are curious and interesting. When Francis saw him enter his chamber, he said to him, "Your majesty has come at last, then, to see your prisoner die." "Not my prisoner," replied Charles, "but my brother and my friend. Believe that I have been labouring to procure your liberty; and that, ere long, I shall succeed."

Francis, in whose disposition there was so little guile, that he did not sufficiently suspect it in others, was overcome by the apparent frankness of this proceeding; and he gave credit to the emperor's promises. They engaged in a long and animated conversation. The emperor besought him, on his departure, to take care of his

health; and promised, that as soon as it should be re-established, he should be free. The hope to which this flattering discourse gave rise, was so strong and so fascinating, that Francis's health, from that moment, rapidly improved, and gave promise that he would soon be in a situation to demand the fulfilment of the emperor's pledge.

The duchess endeavours to procure her brother's liberation.

The duchess d'Alençon redoubled her efforts for her brother's liberation. The emperor received her with every demonstration of respect; but she soon discovered, that as Charles's fears of losing his prisoner and his ransom diminished, his determination to keep him in captivity increased. She endeavoured to form an acquaintance with the queen of Portugal, who was destined for Francis's bride; but the wary emperor frustrated this by inducing his sister to make a pilgrimage to Guadaloupe, which occupied the whole period of the duchess's stay in Spain. She also addressed herself to Bourbon, who, as it seemed, would not have been sorry to make his marriage with her the means of restoring him to his country and his estates. She did not attempt to discourage any hopes he might have formed on this head, and her beauty and intellectual charms had given her so great a power over Bourbon, that he revealed to her all he knew respecting the emperor's secret designs. Bourbon's influence in Spain, however, was nothing; and the wary emperor knew better than to disclose his real intentions to one who

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Francis' escape projected, and abandoned.

with all his faults possessed a sensibility and generosity of temper which rendered him an unfit depositary for such schemes as he had planned.

After some time the duchess became convinced that she had nothing to hope from her own personal influence, and as little from the urgent appeals she had made to Charles's justice and his generosity. She therefore took her leave of the emperor, whom she had visited at Toledo, and returned to Madrid, for the purpose of paying a farewell visit to her brother on her return to France. Here it was that she planned a scheme for Francis's release which was conceived with so much boldness and ingenuity, that nothing but an unlooked-for accident could have thwarted its fulfilment. Among the attendants upon the captive monarch was a negro slave, whose business it was to supply his chamber with wood for fuel, and who bore some resemblance to Francis in size and figure. The duchess had so completely gained this man that he had consented to encounter any danger at her bidding. It had been arranged that, as soon as all the other preparations should be ready, this man should enter at night-fall with his accustomed load of logs, and that immediately afterwards the king should have his face blackened of the same complexion as that of the negro, and that putting on the slave's clothes, he should go out of the castle gate, while in order to prevent detection by any of the persons who might enter the chamber, the negro was to conceal himself in the bed of the king, who was

supposed to be unwell. Every thing seemed to promise that the change would pass without suspicion; and, once without the walls, the duchess had made arrangements which would have ensured her brother's escape long before any effectual pursuit could be instituted. The king's personal attendants at this period were a cavalier who had distinguished himself much in arms, a Monsieur de Larochepot, and a gentleman of the bed-chamber, Clerment Champion, and to them, of necessity, all the particulars of the plot had been communicated. In the course of a trifling altercation which had ensued between these persons, La Rochepot struck the chamberlain a blow, and the latter failing to obtain redress for the indignity he had suffered, hurried, in the first transport of his rage, to Toledo, and disclosed to the emperor the plan that had been formed for his captive's liberation. Charles's conduct on this occasion was perfectly worthy of him. To his immediate counsellors he inveighed bitterly against the duplicity of Francis's conduct, and affected to deplore that a great and gallant monarch could descend to so mean an artifice as that which he had contemplated; but beyond this he suffered no expression nor any external token to indicate either his anger or his suspicion. He had the depositions of Champion reduced into writing, and transmitted to Alarçon, for the purpose of keeping him on the alert, at the same time that he enjoined the strictest silence respecting the discovery, and the only step he

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permitted to be taken in consequence of it was the removal of the negro slave. He, however, determined to punish the duchess for the share she had taken in the plot; and as no consideration of the forbearance which her sex ought to have claimed, or of respect for the motives which had induced her to attempt her beloved brother's liberation, found a place in his mind, he would have carried that determination into effect in its fullest rigour. The duchess's passport had been made out for two months; but the friendly manner in which she had been received, was well calculated to make her forget that that term was drawing fast to its conclusion; and that it was necessary to renew it in order to provide for her personal safety. Charles intended to let the period expire, and then, upon her applying either for a renewal or for a safe-conduct to the frontier, to have inserted in them a clause to the effect that she had neither attempted nor contemplated any thing prejudicial to the emperor or his government. If she had accepted either of them, he was prepared with proof of her having violated that condition, and intended to avail himself of it for the purpose of making her share her brother's imprisonment.(*a*) The confidence which the duchess placed in his honour would have crowned his scheme with success, but for an intimation which Bourbon, who had learnt the treachery that the emperor

Bourbon discloses to her the emperor's meditated treachery.

(*a*) Sandoval, c. xiii. p. 667.

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meditated, conveyed to her. With the utmost precipitation, she then ordered her escort; and, notwithstanding the severity of the winter which had now set in, she traversed Spain with such expedition, as to reach the frontier of Navarre one hour before the period of her safe-conduct had expired. (*a*)

She returns precipitately to France.

Before she departed, however, Francis had become convinced of the little reliance that was to be placed upon the emperor's promises, and, since the discovery of his projected escape, he saw no present prospect of the termination of his imprisonment. He, therefore, made up his mind to endure it without further complaint; and at the same time to defeat the object which his inveterate foe hoped to attain by keeping him in confinement; for this purpose he signed a formal deed, by which he renounced his crown in favour of the dauphin, to whom he desired the French people to transfer their allegiance, and to consider him as having quitted the world. This paper he committed to the care of the duchess d'Alençon; and at the same time he dismissed Brion and Montmorenci, who had obtained permission to wait upon him, with injunctions to aid by their councils and services, the successor he had appointed. The affection of his people, who loved him too well to desert him, even at his own bidding, prevented this heroic disposition from taking

Francis signs a formal renunciation of his crown in favour of the dauphin.

(*a*) Varillas, t. i. l. v.

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effect, and it served only to increase their desire to have the king once more in his own dominions, and their exertions to effect that object.

The treaty for his ransom renewed;

Such of his subjects as remained with him in Spain, represented to him that the interests of his kingdom required his presence, and they urged him to accept almost any terms that might be proposed; reminding him that the duress in which he was held, would of itself invalidate any contract he might make, and that nothing could compel him to perform, when free, the promises he should make in prison. Francis knew too well the flimsiness and falsehood of such reasoning to be convinced by it, but his necessities induced him to adopt a proceeding which his reason and his feelings condemned. He expressed his willingness to renew the treaty for his ransom, which had been broken off. Negociations were again commenced, but it was not until the end of the year that they were brought to a conclusion. At length, in January, 1526, he signed the treaty of Madrid, the stipulations of which he knew he had neither the power nor the intention to fulfil.

(1526) and signed.

Terms of the treaty.

By the hard conditions of this treaty, Francis agreed to give up, in favour of the emperor, all his pretensions to every part of Italy, to surrender the duchy of Burgundy, with its dependencies, to renounce the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, to withdraw from the king of Navarre, from the dukes of Gueldres and of Wirtemberg, and from Robert de la Mark, the aid

he had severally promised them. A more total sacrifice of his tried friends; a more painful and ruinous dismemberment of the realm of his ancestors could not be made. But his humiliation was not to end here. He was to undertake also to furnish the emperor with men, money, and ships, for the purpose of aiding him in his enterprise, which aimed at the entire subjugation of Italy. The duke of Bourbon and his adherents were to be pardoned and restored, and right was to be done him according to the laws of France, respecting his disputed possessions. The prince of Orange, whose estates in France had been confiscated for his adherence to the emperor, was to be reinstated. Francis undertook to pay a ransom of two millions of crowns, in addition to the emperor's debt to England, which amounted to five hundred thousand more; it was stipulated also, that he should marry the queen of Portugal; and he engaged that the dauphin, when he arrived at a proper age, should marry the infanta of Portugal, the daughter of Eleanora. As a security for the due performance of these stipulations, the king of France was to surrender into the hands of the emperor his two sons as hostages, (*a*) and he undertook

(*a*) Francis was to have the option of delivering, instead of his two sons, twelve noblemen, as hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty; but, as the noblemen whom the emperor had selected, were among the most powerful and the most valuable of the kingdom, this was too disadvantageous an alternative to be resorted to.

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to ratify it himself, as soon as he should reach his own dominions, to procure the dauphin's confirmation of it when that prince should have attained his fourteenth year, and to have it formally registered by the several parliaments of France.

The injustice and hardship of this treaty were so apparent, that it was impossible to believe it could be carried into execution. Gattinara, the emperor's chancellor, was so strongly convinced of this, that he refused to affix to it the seals of his office; and at length the emperor was obliged to perform that act of ratification with his own hand; but not without a conviction that Gattinara's reasons were well founded, however the exigencies of the time prevented their being recognised.

The king's liberation is deferred.

Francis remained in prison more than a month after the signing of the treaty; and during this period the emperor had shewn no inclination to carry its provisions into effect. The king's health began again to suffer from the anxiety and disappointment he endured. He was confined under an attack of fever, when one day Lannoy presented himself unexpectedly, and with so little ceremony, that he wore the dress he travelled in, and informed Francis that he came as the proxy of the queen Eleanora, to celebrate the ceremony of their affiancing. Francis was too ill to dispute points of etiquette, and too sick for freedom to object to any conditions upon which it might be obtained. The ridicu-

He is again attacked by illness.

He is affianced to the queen of Portugal.

lous ceremony was performed on the instant; and the exhausted bridegroom, in his bed, was betrothed in solemn form to the booted representative of her majesty of Portugal. Lannoy was, however, so struck with Francis's altered appearance, that, on his departure he intimated to the emperor his belief that no time was to be lost, lest the death of the prisoner should effectually disappoint the treaty. CHAP. X.

Charles, insensible as he was to the feelings of generosity or of justice, felt all the force of Lannoy's hint. He visited Francis immediately; was profuse in his expressions of friendship and esteem; declared his earnest desire to fulfil the treaty, and took him in his own coach to pay a visit to the Queen of Portugal, who was then, and who had been, even at the moment when the farce of affiancing her was acting, within a few leagues of Madrid. The prospect of his speedy release, which now became more certain, soon restored Francis's health. He appeared at the public festivals, and kept up that show of cordiality and confidence, of which the emperor set him the example, and which was not more sincere on one side than the other. Charles once more visits him.

At length, Montmorenci, who had been sent to France to make preparations for that part of the treaty which related to the delivery of the hostages, returned to Madrid with the information that the queen mother and the princes were at Bayonne. On the 18th of March, 1526, Francis was escorted to Fontarabia. A barge Francis is at length conducted to the Spanish confines.

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had been moored in the middle of the Bidassoa, which, between Fontarabia and Andaye, marks the Spanish confine. Francis, accompanied by Lannoy and Alarçon, and followed by fifty horsemen, appeared on the one bank, while Lautrec, with the two princes and a similar escort, reached the other. Lautrec, with his royal wards, put off in a boat from his side of the river, while Francis, Lannoy, and Alarçon approached in a similar manner, each party having then only a guard of eight soldiers with them; and in this guise they met on board the barge which rode in the middle of the stream. A few moments sufficed for Francis's greeting and separation from his children. The time was too full of peril to permit any lengthened indulgence of the feelings which he must have experienced on this occasion. As if afraid to trust himself, he strained his children in a hasty embrace, leaped precipitately into Lautrec's boat, and, having reached the French bank of the river, mounted an Arab horse, which was in waiting for him. He waved his hand, shouted, "Once more a king!" and dashed off at full gallop, waiting for no congratulations. He rode to Saint Jean de Luz without pause, and with a speed which the joy of being once more free might naturally account for, and which the suspicion of treachery on the part of the emperor fully justified. After a very short repose he proceeded without further halt to Bayonne, where he was met by the regent, his sister, and the friends who had

The hostages are exchanged.

Francis restored to his own kingdom.

come to celebrate his return. He now, for the first time, felt himself in security. His health, which was still in a feeble state, rendered it advisable that he should remain in the southern part of his dominions for some time, and the congratulations of his subjects, the public rejoicings with which his return was celebrated, and the eager affection which his friends and his court testified at their having him again among them, threw round him for some months a series of enjoyments which he probably relished no less for the contrast which they presented to the bitter adversity of which he had lately so deeply drunk.

## CHAP. XI.

*Francis rewards his adherents—Wolsey urges him to a war on the Emperor—Francis complains of Charles's treatment—Determines not to cede Burgundy—Lannoy claims for the Emperor the investiture of that province—The States of Burgundy refuse to fulfil the Treaty—Negociations with England—The Holy League proclaimed—Francis convenes a General Assembly, which decides that he is not bound by the Treaty of Madrid—The Pope withdraws from the League—The War in Italy—Freundsberg joins Bourbon—Death of Giovanni de' Medici—Bourbon marches towards Rome, which he attacks—His death—The City is taken and sacked—The Pope retires to St. Angelo—Yields himself prisoner—Treaties between England and France—Wolsey visits France—Charles is solicited to release the Pope—His reply—Henry's divorce—Proposes to marry the Duchess d'Alencon, or the Princess Renée—The League against the Emperor agreed on—Lautrec marches into Italy—Treaties with Sforza, Venice, and Florence.*

## CHAPTER XI.

ALMOST the first use which Francis made of his newly-recovered liberty, was to testify his gratitude to the adherents who had served him faithfully in his misfortunes; and to fill up the offices which the bloody fight at Pavia had left vacant. On Montmorenci was conferred the office of grand master and the government of Languedoc. Brion was promoted to the post of admiral, which Bonnivet had held, and to the government of Burgundy, which had been filled by the veteran la Trémoille. The government of Dauphiny was given to the count de Saint Pol; Teodoro Trivulzio and Fleuranges received the batons of la Palice and de Foix; and Pomperant, who had effaced by his later services to the king the crime of his rebellion, was entrusted with the command of a company of men at arms. 1526. Francis rewards his adherents.

The members of the Italian league awaited with anxious interest to see the line of policy which Francis would adopt, and of all those powers England was perhaps the most watchful. During Francis's captivity, Wolsey, who had determined to make the emperor feel the importance of services which he had despised, had directed the English envoys to visit him in his prison, and to assure him of Henry's sympathy and friendly offices; of which Francis, who well Wolsey urges him to a war on the emperor.

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knew the influence of the English power in the Spanish cabinet, made a warm and grateful acknowledgement. The cardinal had also kept his minister, doctor Taylor, at the French regent's court, with express directions to watch her every proceeding and to obtain from her, if it might be possible, an explicit statement of the course which her son and his council meant to pursue. The prudent caution of the regent effectually frustrated the object of the ambassador, pertinaciously as it was pursued; and although Francis, on his return to his kingdom, felt it expedient to thank Henry in warm terms for his good services, and to ascribe to them his release from captivity, (*a*) he forbore to pledge himself distinctly to the plans of which the vanity of Henry, and the ambitious cupidity of his minister, sought to make him the instrument.

Francis complains of Charles's treatment.

Francis did not, however, refrain from openly expressing, in the presence of the English im-

(*a*) That Henry had exerted himself warmly in Francis's favour, is clear from, among other evidences, a letter written by the English ambassador in Spain when Henry was about to break with Charles, in which he alleges the emperor's compliance as a reason for the English king's not quarrelling with him. "But many things, as my poor wit judgeth, should withdraw the king's grace from war with the emperor. The first is, the consideration that he so facilly delivered the French King from prison, at the king's (Henry's) instance; for when the emperor, with his council, was determined to see Burgundy delivered in hand, ere they would deliver him out of prison, yet after he had heard by me the king's request in this behalf, he forthwith mitigated his rigour; and, only upon trust of the French king's promise, condescended to put him to liberty."—MSS. Cotton. Vesp. c. iv. p. 128.

nisters, as well as of those who were sent from the Pope and the Italian states to congratulate him on his deliverance, the resentment with which the emperor's conduct had inspired him. He complained bitterly that he had been treated not only with a rigour unsuited to his rank, but with a severity and hardship which was most unchristian and inhuman. He described the affected pity which Charles had testified when his dangerous illness had made the Spanish emperor fear that death would disappoint him of his prey, and the not less odious inflexibility he had assumed when those fears were removed. He added, that his own personal observation had convinced him the emperor's ambition made him a more dangerous enemy to the interests and the peace of Christendom than the more dreaded Turks, and his firm opinion that a confederacy against Charles's power was more desirable and more necessary than against that of the Ottoman.

Determines not to cede Burgundy.

His determination not to fulfil the conditions of the treaty which had been extorted from him had been manifest from the first moment of his arrival in France. Soon after he reached Bayonne an express had arrived from Lannoy calling upon him to perform that part of its stipulations which related to the cession of Burgundy, and which the king for the present postponed, under the pretext that it was at first necessary to obtain the sanction of the states of Burgundy, which he was about to assemble for that purpose. Upon leaving Bayonne he visited

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Bordeaux, and afterwards Cognac. An accidental fall from his horse, while hunting in the neighbourhood of the latter place, confined him there for some time, and it was during this stay that he received a visit from Lannoy in person.

The arrival of Lannoy to receive the investiture of that province.

The viceroy of Naples was accompanied on this occasion by Moncada and Alarçon, who had been deputed by the emperor to accept in his name the cession of Burgundy. The king received them cordially, and, by the distinction with which he treated the viceroy, testified his sense of the obligations he was under to him; but, touching the object of his mission, he only repeated his former answer. The ambassadors therefore waited at the court until the states of Burgundy should be assembled.

Francis temporizes.

The deputies of Burgundy are summoned.

The Burgundian deputies soon afterwards arrived, and relieved Francis from the personal odium of violating the treaty by refusing upon their own responsibility to accede to it. They declared in the presence of the Spanish ambassadors that Burgundy, being free to choose its master, had attached itself to France, but that it would never submit to the dominion of Austria. They declined being bound by the treaty of Madrid, of the injustice of which they did not hesitate to express a strong opinion; and although they admitted the sovereign power of the king to govern them, they denied that he had the right of transferring that power to any other hands without their consent. Francis

They refuse to perform the treaty.

offered to the ambassadors any pecuniary compensation which the emperor might think fit to demand for the non-performance of this article of the treaty, occasioned, as he protested, by no fault of his; but the power of the ambassadors did not extend to the acceptance of such a proposal. The news was transmitted to Spain; the emperor, upon receiving it, removed the French princes from Valladolid to Old Castile; refused the proffer of the French king; and called, upon him to perform his promise by surrendering himself to the prison from which he had been released. (*a*)

Treaty with England.

The negociations for the league had been carried on, uninterrupted by the king's journey. The caution which Francis and his ministers observed, compelled Wolsey to more open measures than he would otherwise have resorted to. His vindictive feelings towards the emperor prompted him to involve him in a war, although he would willingly have spared his own king the responsibility of openly engaging in it. Finding this, however, impossible, he consented that Henry should join the Italian league, with the title of its protector, and that he and Francis should bind themselves not to treat otherwise than mutually with the emperor. In the mean time he spared no pains to annoy Charles by insidious instructions to the ambassadors at foreign courts, and by the most insulting and calumnious speeches, endeavouring

(*a*) Belcar., l. xviii. Du Bellay, l. iii. Sleidan, l. vi.

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to render him as odious as possible, while he planned a marriage between the French king and the English princess Mary, for the purpose of preventing the union to which Francis had pledged himself, by the treaty of Madrid, with the queen Eleanora. (*a*) The accession of the king of England supplied all that was wanting to complete the league. The plan of operations was settled, with the concurrence of the Pope, and the confederacy was solemnly published in Paris on the 24th of June, under the title of the Holy League of Italy. The Spanish envoys who were then resident at the court, had no other way of avoiding the mortification which this public defiance of their monarch was calculated to inflict on their national pride, than to form a hunting party, which took them away from the city.

Proclamation of the Holy League.

Francis convenes a general assembly.

It was, however, much more easy to refuse to fulfil the treaty of Madrid than honourably to justify such refusal. Francis, who felt this more sensibly than any one, resorted to the usual expedient of making the default proceed from his ministers and his people rather than from himself. On the 12th of December, 1526, he held a bed of justice, which was attended by the principal ecclesiastics, nobles, and gentlemen of France, the officers of the parliament of Paris, and deputies from those of the provinces. Each member was sworn not to reveal the proceedings which should take place. Francis there made a

(*a*) Turner's Henry VIII., l. i. c. xvi.

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long and forcible speech, as well upon the affairs of the kingdom as upon the position in which he individually was placed. Alluding to the result of his Italian expedition, he said, with great feeling and truth, that, although his subjects had suffered much, he had shared their sufferings, and had, in his own person, endured more than any other who had borne arms. He then detailed the circumstances of his captivity, the bitter mortifications he had endured, the despair to which they had reduced him, and he produced the renunciation of his crown which he had made in Spain, and had entrusted to the duchess d'Alençon, in the belief that his captivity would endure, and with a determination that the interests of his kingdom should not be affected by his individual misfortunes. Having finished this narration he entered upon the state of the national finances; pointed out their produce and the objects of their application; explained the amount which could be spared for the ransom of his children; and made an open demand of the deficiency upon the good will of his people. He added, that if it was incompatible with the country's means or interests, that his requests should be complied with, he was ready and resolved to return to his Spanish prison, and to redeem his children with his own person.

Details the circumstances of the treaty.

This speech produced the effect which might have been expected. In addition to the interest which the king's frank and simple state-

In which it is decided that he ought not to fulfil the

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treaty of Madrid.

ment had excited, the national honour and interests required that he should be freed from the degrading condition in which the emperor's hard terms had placed him. The presidents of the several bodies expressed their attachment to Francis; and having separated for the purpose of deliberating, the parliament, after a discussion which lasted four days, decreed, with the unanimous sanction of the other deliberative bodies, that the king was not obliged to return to Spain nor to execute the treaty of Madrid, which had been extorted from him during his imprisonment; a decision which it would be difficult to arrive at, upon any of the ordinary principles of justice; and they added, that he might, under the circumstances, rightfully levy upon his subjects two millions of crowns for the ransom of his children and the use of the state. (*a*)

The Pope is attacked by Colonna.

Although the terms of the league had been fully arranged, the parties interested in it, hesitated about carrying it into execution. The Pope, who had little resolution, and not more ability, thinking himself secure on the side of Romagna, had disbanded his troops there. The cardinal Colonna took advantage of this circumstance to revenge the old family quarrel; raised a force with the assistance of Moncada, the governor of Naples; and attacked Rome so rapidly and successfully, that Clement had but just time to shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo, before the enemy's soldiers had full possession

(*a*) MSS. de Colbert, t. i. Gaillard, l. ii. c. 12.

of the city. The Pope was compelled to sue for peace, which was granted him, only on condition, that he should withdraw from the league for four months, and with the loss of the rich treasures contained in the palace of the Vatican. This event excited the feelings of the allies in favour of the outraged pontiff; but still the operations of the league were tardy.

War in Italy.

The necessity of relieving the castle of Milan, in which Sforza was shut up, and which was besieged by the imperialists, was urgent; but Francis was withheld by the hope that he might yet obtain his children from the emperor, on the payment of a ransom, and by the pursuit of pleasure to which he addicted himself at this period with a more culpable ardour than he had ever before evinced. He sent a small force under the command of the marquis of Saluzzo, which, however, did not reach Italy until September; and his galleys, which were to have assisted those of Andrea Doria in preventing the landing of Bourbon, with a reinforcement from Spain, were detained in the port of Marseilles until it was too late to accomplish their object. Bourbon who had now the command of the imperial forces, marched to Milan, to press the siege with greater vigour. He found the city in a state of dreadful disorder and misery. The magistrates and principal inhabitants represented to him, emphatically, the horrors which they endured from the emperor's soldiers, who committed, in defiance of all discipline, the most

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licentious excesses upon the citizens. Bourbon assured them, that the want of money to pay the soldiers was the only cause of these disorders, and if that were furnished, he would at once withdraw them from the city, and encamp them beyond the walls. (*a*) Poor and exhausted as the people of Milan were, they made an effort to raise thirty thousand ducats, a month's pay; which, relying upon Bourbon's promise, they gave him; but they found immediately afterwards, that he lacked the power or the inclination to keep his faith. The cruelty of the soldiery was not only continued, but was carried to so high a pitch, that many of the miserable burghers of Milan terminated by desperate suicides the existence which the outrages of their pitiless oppressors had made intolerable. At length Sforza, to avoid falling a prisoner into the hands of Bourbon, whom he saw he could not much longer effectually resist, resolved to capitulate, and surrendered the citadel on condition that he might retire in safety to Como. (*b*)

Freundsberg joins Bourbon with a large force.

The varying interests of the confederating powers, and the consequent want of combination in their operations, and the supineness of

(*a*) Bourbon said to the magistrates he knew they had often been deceived by similar promises; but he pledged his honour to them for the performance of that which he now made, adding an imprecation, that if he failed he might perish by the first shot fired in the first battle he should be engaged in.

(*b*) Belcar., l. xviii. Guicciardini, l. xvi. Du Bellay, l. iii.

the duke of Urbino, who had the principal conduct of the campaign, would have made the emperor master of Italy, if he had possessed sufficient pecuniary resources for payment of his armies. The want of this however made their movements uncertain, and their discipline so lax, that nothing but the genius and activity of Bourbon, and his reputation with the soldiers, would have sufficed to keep possession of the territory he had won, surrounded as he was by enemies. At length however he was reinforced by the partisan Freundsberg, who had taken so active a share in the battle of Pavia, and who had now raised a large body of German adventurers, and brought them to assist Bourbon, to whom he was strongly attached, and to share the spoils of the war. Freundsberg's own means were so scanty, that they were exhausted in giving the miserable sum of a crown as earnest to each of the sixteen thousand lanz-knechts who followed him; but his reputation and his past successes, his devotion to the reformed religion, and his hatred of the Pope and the church government, were so well known, that he found little difficulty in tempting his countrymen by the prospect of the plunder which a campaign would afford, to march with him into Italy. (*a*)

The confederates attempt to intercept.

The confederates, upon the news of his progress, determined to oppose it. The duke of Urbino quitted Genoa, which he was besieging, and repaired to Lucca, for the purpose of intercept-

(*a*) Guicciardini, l. xvii. Du Bellay, l. iii.

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ing him. Giovanni de' Medici, "the hope of Italy," accompanied him, and having ascertained that Freundsberg was on the road to Borgoforte, they hastened thither with the light cavalry which he commanded. As the Germans had no cavalry, and were believed to have no artillery, the impetuous young leader had promised himself a certain victory; but the duke of Ferrara had given them four falconets, under cover of which they safely passed the river. At the very first fire de' Medici was wounded in the thigh; his troops lost their confidence with the fall of their leader; they were dispersed; and he was carried to Mantua, where a few days afterwards he died of his wound. (*a*) Freundsberg's detachment marched on unmolested, satisfying their Lutheran prejudices as they went, by destroying the images of Catholic worship, and harassing the priests of that religion wherever they met them. They were joined by the prince of Orange at Guastalla, and having obtained sup-

Death of Giovanni de' Medici.

(*a*) He underwent an amputation of the thigh with unconquerable firmness. He held the light for the surgeons, and bade them perform their task fearlessly, while his own countenance expressed none of the agony which he must have suffered. He was only nine and twenty when he died, but had distinguished himself so early, and so honourably, that he was already ranked among the boldest and most experienced leaders of the day. He was the idol of his own soldiers, who, after his death, changed their ensigns and uniforms to black, in token of respectful mourning for their chief, and assumed the name of the Black Bands, after the duke of Gueldres' troop, which had been cut to pieces at Pavia.—Brantome, Hommes Illust. Du Bellay, l. iii.

plies of money and artillery on their route, Freundsberg successfully effected a junction with Bourbon at Firenzuola. (*a*)

Bourbon's want of money.

Bourbon's army was now nearly equal in numbers to that of the league, but the want of money still prevented him from undertaking any effectual enterprise. The Milanese was nearly exhausted, and the scanty supplies which were wrung by cruelty and oppression from the people, hardly sufficed to pacify the clamorous troops. The chancellor Morone, who was reputed to be very rich, remained still in the prison to which Pescara had consigned him. Bourbon's want of money induced him to offer this intriguer, who had good reason to fear that his life was in danger, a pardon and his liberty on payment of twenty thousand ducats. Morone, did not believe that the emperor would sacrifice a man whose services had been so often and so usefully experienced, and he therefore ventured to refuse this offer. Bourbon, whose wants were urgent, and who knew that the Chancellor had the money, gave orders for his instant execution, and then it was that Morone, finding the general was not to be trifled with, produced, a few hours before he was to have been led to the scaffold, the price at which his pardon had been rated. (*b*)

Extorts a ransom from Morone.

With this money, and with what he had been enabled to raise bythe plunder of churches, and by oppressions which were, if possible, less justifiable. Bourbon for the present satisfied his army,

(*a*) Guicciardini, l. xvii. (*b*) Ibid.

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Bourbon withdraws from the Milanese.

and marched them from before Pavia, with an air of mystery which he probably assumed, because he did not well know to what enterprise his wayward destiny might next lead him. He then announced to his troops, that the moment was at hand, which should recompence them for all they had suffered, and secure to them the reward they had earned. Their hopes, easily raised, were excited by this promise; they expressed their satisfaction by loud shouts, and promised to follow him wherever he would lead them. (*a*) Bourbon, whose intractable and cold haughtiness in the court of Francis, had obscured the nobler qualities of his character, and had failed to secure for him the respect and consideration to which his worth and talents intitled him, had succeeded, by his frank and affable demeanour, in engaging the devoted affection of the rude soldiery by whom he was now surrounded, and over whom he exercised a more certain and absolute dominion than that of any monarch in Europe. His valour in the combat, and his generosity at all times, had won their confidence, and secured their implicit obedience. He distributed among them his money, his plate, his jewels, even his clothes, reserving nothing but what was absolutely necessary, save a surcoat of cloth of silver, which he wore over his armour, and which alone distinguished him from the meanest subaltern of his host. "My com-

(*a*) "Nous vous suivrons partout; dussiez vous nous mener à tous les diables."—Brantome. Bourbon.

rades," he then said, "I am a poor soldier, I do not possess one doit more than the most needy among you: let us seek our fortunes together."

Marches towards Rome.

He left the care of the Milanese war to da Leyva, with a small detachment of his army, and with his main body marched onwards towards Tuscany. The chieftains of the league hesitated how they should most effectually attempt to stop him, but none of them could comprehend to what point his design tended. The country through which he passed was filled by his enemies, or was laid waste by the war; a late and rigorous spring threw obstacles in his way at every step; many of the rivers were so swollen that the common fords were destroyed, and his progress thereby retarded and impeded; provisions were scarce; money he had none; and, to complete his misfortunes, Freundsberg, on whose valuable co-operation he mainly relied, was attacked by apoplexy, which rendered him incapable of exertion. Bourbon's perseverance triumphed over all these difficulties; and, when he was within a few days march of Rome, and it was impossible and unnecessary longer to conceal his design, he avowed that it was with the plunder of that rich city that he meant to reward his needy host. (*a*)

(*a*) Luigi Guicciardini, Il Sacco di Roma. The author says, that the impending fate of the city had been foretold several days previous to Bourbon's arrival, by a man who appeared suddenly in the streets of Rome. He was called Brandano, a native of Sienna, a man of mature age, lean,

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Attacks the city.

Clement was struck with fear and horror when he perceived that the blow which Bourbon had threatened was to fall upon him, and sought to avert it by an offer of money, which was rejected as insufficient. The Pope then besought Lannoy to exercise his influence, and the name of the emperor, to stop the march of the army. Lannoy sent a messenger, who barely escaped with his life, when the soldiers learned his errand; and although the viceroy pretended to repair in person to arrest Bourbon's march, he was too cautious to trust himself within the reach of one so powerful, and whom his old, but not forgotten perfidy had made his implacable enemy. The Pope urgently implored the assistance of the French and the Venetians, and the marquis of Saluzzo and the duke of Urbino marched, in the hope of inclosing the approaching army. Bourbon, without shunning either, avoided them both, and in the first week in May encamped his forces under the walls of Rome.

and red-haired. He walked bare-foot about the city, preaching to the populace the certain ruin of the clergy and court of Rome, and the reformation of the church. At times, with loud and dismal cries he would exhort the people to penitence, and assure them that their punishment was at hand. He addressed the Pope himself, and with insolent and gross expressions assured him that God had decreed his and the city's destruction. He was imprisoned, but continued his preaching and prophecies with still greater efficacy, and was very generally listened to. Luigi Guicciardini relates some other portents—such as a mule foaling, and a wall falling down, which at nearly the same time announced the disasters that were about to happen.

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The death of Bourbon.

Such hasty preparation as the time allowed had been made for the defence of the city, and Bourbon, who knew its weakness, and who was urged by the wants of his army, determined upon an immediate assault. He was out with a reconnoitring party at an early hour in the morning, and before the sun had dissipated the mist which at this season of the year always exhales from the moist plains by which Rome is surrounded. A sentinel had been placed at a part of the wall which there had not been time effectually to secure, he heard the footsteps and the voices of Bourbon's party, and, misled by the obscurity, thought he was retreating towards the wall, while he, in fact, was approaching them. He soon discovered his mistake and fled; not so quickly, however, but that Bourbon saw him, and observed the place by which he entered the city. He ordered a charge to be sounded instantly; a scaling ladder was hastily brought, which he placed against the wall with his own hand, and, willing to be the first who should enter the city, he was half way up it when he was struck down by a shot. The wound which he received was mortal, as he well knew. He bade Jonas, a Gascon captain, and an old adherent of his, who was near him, to cover him with his cloak as he lay, and enjoined him to conceal his death from the soldiers lest it might abate their courage He lingered for some hours longer, when he died in great agony within sight of

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the city, the destruction of which he had vowed. (*a*)

The city is taken;

The command then devolved upon the prince of Orange, whose animosity against France was scarcely less than that of Bourbon. (*b*) He continued the attack with great fierceness and vigour. Scaling ladders were placed against every accessible point, and, although the defence was kept up with great valour and earnestness, the constancy of the imperialists triumphed over the disadvantages occasioned by their want of artillery. The prince at first concealed from them the death of Bourbon; and it was not until he found them recoiling from the enemy's incessant fire, that, in order to animate their rage, he told them of their leader's fall. (*c*) It then produced the ef-

(*a*) Brantome.

(*b*) Philibert de Chalons sur la Saone, Prince of Orange, had first offered his services to Francis, who had neglected them with a coldness and indifference which determined him upon revenge, to effect which he joined the emperor's army. He had been taken prisoner by Doria, in a naval engagement in 1524, and had been restored to liberty without ransom, at the emperor's instance, who made it one of the conditions of the treaty of Madrid. His animosity was kept alive by the loss of his estates, which had been confiscated, and the first use he made of his freedom was to join Bourbon with such strength as he could raise. It was his daughter who carried the principality of Orange to the house of Nassau, from which our William III. descended. Gaillard, l. ii. c. 12. Turner, l. i. c. xviii.

(*c*) Brantome has preserved a part of the old song of these soldiers, which makes the prince of Orange exclaim to them, on seeing Bourbon dead:—

fect which he had expected. They rushed once more to the attack, made themselves masters of the ramparts, and entered the city thirsting for blood and pillage, and mingling with their cries of vengeance the name of their late commander. and sacked.

The scenes of carnage and horror which ensued baffle description, and the heart turns sickened from the contemplation of the enormities of which Rome now became the theatre. The licentious soldiery roamed through the streets, committing every excess that rapacity and lust could suggest. The churches were profaned, the palaces plundered, blood shed with dreadful wantonness, women violated under circumstances too horrid to be detailed, and neither rank, nor age, nor sex, afforded the slightest protection against the enormities of the atrocious marauders. The Germans gratified their hatred against the Romish prelates by the most impious and ridiculous mockeries of the symbols of their religion; but it was by the Spaniards and Italians that the most revolting horrors were perpetrated, and scenes were acted, compared with which the sackings and spoliations of Attila and Genseric seemed almost venial. (*a*)

"Sonnez, Sonnez, Trompettes!
Sonnez tous à l'assaut.
Approchez vos engins!
Abbattez ces murailles!
Tous les biens des Romains,
Je vous donne au pillage."

(*a*) Il Sacco di Roma, by Luigi Guicciardini, the nephew of the historian, Francesco Guicciardini (which has also been attributed to "Giacomo Buonaparte Gentilhuomo Samnia.

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The Pope retires to St. Angelo.

The Pope and the greater part of the cardinals took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo; but some members of the holy college, who were less fortunate, experienced the most brutal treatment from the infuriated soldiery. (*a*) The Pope, shut up in the fortress, observed these horrors with dismay, which was increased to despair by the failure of all hope of rescue. An attempt had been made, by the marquis de Saluzzo, to relieve the castle, but had been defeated. The duke of Urbino was busied in providing for his own safety; and Clement, after enduring the heaviest privations for more than a month, and being reduced to absolute starvation, found it expedient to surrender his castle to the prince of Orange, whose prisoner he agreed to remain, together with thirteen cardinals, until the emperor's pleasure should be known, and the sum which the prince of Orange demanded for the payment of his troops could be raised.

Yields himself a prisoner.

The news of this event fell with a stunning

tese,") contains a full account of the horrors which ensued upon the capture of Rome. Cinthio, the novelist, has also detailed them with great power in the introduction to his "Heccatomithi."

(*a*) The cardinal of Sienna, relying upon his notorious devotion to the interests of the emperor, thought he should be safe in his own palace, where he remained. He was, however, compelled to pay a ransom, fixed by the soldiers, twice; once to the Spaniards, and afterwards to the Germans. Not content with this, they dragged him out, placed him bare-headed on an ass, and thus paraded him through the streets, insulting and beating him as he passed. The cardinals of Minerva and Ponzetta, the latter an old man of ninety, experienced similar treatment.

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effect upon all the members of the league. Francis and Henry had been long engaged in a treaty for the marriage of the French king with the English princess Mary, and for the deliverance of the dauphin and his brother; (*a*) and now the mutual alarm which they felt at the increasing power of the emperor prompted them to enter into a closer alliance. They sent envoys to the court of Spain to solicit the Pope's deliverance, and to ascertain Charles's intentions respecting his prisoner; and soon afterwards Wolsey set out on a personal embassy to the French court. He travelled into France with a rich train of noblemen and gentlemen, (*b*) and was received by Francis with the respect and state due to a monarch at Amiens, where, after a

Treaties between France and England.

Wolsey visits Francis at Amiens.

(*a*) On the 20th of April a treaty had been signed by the bishop of Tarbes and the viscount of Turenne, on the part of France, by which it was agreed that the princess should marry either Francis, or his second son the duke of Orleans; Francis, as it was afterwards explained, if that monarch should remain a widower till she arrived at the age of puberty: the duke of Orleans, if in the interval it should be deemed desirable by both parties that the king should marry Eleanora. Two other treaties were concluded at the same time, that both monarchs should jointly make war on the emperor, if he rejected the proposals which they meant to offer; and that Francis and his successors should pay for ever to Henry and his heirs a yearly rent of fifty thousand crowns, in addition to all other sums due to him from the French monarch. It was during the conferences respecting this marriage that the bishop of Tarbes ventured to ask whether the legitimacy of the princess were unimpeachable. —Lingard, vol. vi. p. 161.

(*b*) Hall, 728.

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Concludes a treaty.

fortnight spent in alternate negociation and festivities, four treaties were signed concerning the alliance of the monarchs. (*a*) Wolsey, at the same time, in conjunction with four other cardinals, addressed a sympathising letter to the Pope, requesting him to appoint a Vicar-General, to execute his authority on this side the Alps, which office the English cardinal expected to be conferred upon himself.

Charles is solicited to release the Pope.

Charles's satisfaction at having become master of the Pope's destiny was somewhat diminished by the embarrassment he felt respecting the manner in which he should use this power. He had endeavoured to have the Pope brought into Spain; but the remonstrances of his own council, and the still more weighty objections which

(*a*) The first confirmed the treaty of perpetual alliance: the second stipulated that the daughter of Henry should marry the duke of Orleans, if she did not marry Francis himself; the third fixed the amount of the subsidy to be furnished by England for the prosecution of the war in Italy; and the last stipulated, that, as long as the pontiff should be detained a captive, the two kings should neither consent to the convocation of a general council, nor admit any bulls or breves issued by Clement in derogation of their rights, or of the rights of their subjects: that during the same period the concerns of each national Church should be conducted by its own bishops, and that the judgments of Wolsey in his legatine court, whatever might be the rank of the party condemned, should, in defiance of any papal prohibition, be carried into immediate execution; a clause, the real object of which was to invest the cardinal with unlimited authority in the trial of the (contemplated) divorce, and to deprive Catherine of any aid from the authority of the pontiff.—Lingard, vol. vi. p. 165.

were made to that daring step by his Italian army, had diverted him from it. He saw, too, in the alliance of the French and English monarchs, with the particulars of which he was made acquainted, the jealousy which his successes had inspired. He replied, therefore, to the envoys, that he had neither caused nor sanctioned the Pope's detention; that he desired his liberation, and would exert himself to procure it; but he protested that it did not depend upon him.

His reply.

Shortly before this time the king of England had begun to entertain that project for his divorce from Catherine which, afterwards, by one of those extraordinary operations in human affairs which seem to baffle all fore-knowledge, brought about the reformation of religion in England. Wolsey, who is suspected to have suggested it to the bishop of Tarbes first to express some doubts of the princess Mary's legitimacy, went after the treaty of Amiens to Compeigne, with the French king and his mother, where, with unblushing impudence, he opened the matter of the king's contemplated divorce, and proposed a marriage between Henry and the duchess d'Alençon. When that amiable and upright woman shrunk in disgust from so odious a proposition, Wolsey, undeterred, repeated it in favour of Renée, the sister-in-law of Francis. This was rejected by the French king himself, lest it might raise a dangerous claim to the dukedom of Brittany, and the cardinal returned to England disappointed, but still bent upon

Henry's divorce.

Proposals for his marriage with the duchess d'Alençon.

And afterwards with the princess Renée.

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the prosecution of his design; and soon afterwards a series of applications were begun, with a view of procuring the Pope's consent to Henry's divorce. (*a*)

The league against the emperor agreed on.

In prosecution of the new league, it was determined that both monarchs should declare war against the emperor. An army was raised for the express purpose of effecting the Pope's liberation. It was to be maintained at the joint charges of Francis and Henry; and Lautrec, who, at Henry's request, had been appointed to the command of it, (*b*) marched it across the Alps. Francis, at the same time, entered into a treaty with Sforza and the states of Venice and of Florence, each of which agreed to furnish a certain number of troops; and preparations were once more made for driving the imperial arms out of Italy.

Treaty with Sforza, Venice, and Florence.

(*a*) Turner's Henry VIII., l. i. c. 20.
(*b*) Sleidan, l. vi.

## CHAP. XII.

*War declared by England and France—The Emperor's reply to the heralds—Charles challenges Francis—Francis's reply—The proposed duel is broken off—Lautrec's campaign in Italy—The Pope is liberated—Lautrec proceeds towards Naples—Which he invests—Doria's defection—The Battle of Salerno—Naples is relieved—Death of Lautrec—Retreat and dispersion of the army—Campaign in the Milanese—Genoa revolts—Defeat of the French at Landriano—Henry the Eighth's divorce—The Pope is reconciled with the Emperor—Francis proposes a peace—The Treaty of Cambray—The French princes are released—Marriage of Francis and Eleanora of Portugal.*

## CHAPTER XII.

THE negociations between the monarchs of England and France having been completed, their ambassadors at the Spanish court demanded their passports, and withdrew. On the following day Guyenne, the French king at arms, and Clarencieux for England, presented themselves before the emperor. Charles, who was apprised of their errand, received them surrounded by his assembled court, and listened in dignified silence to their statement of the grounds on which their denunciation was founded. These related principally to the imprisonment of the Pope, and the ill treatment he had received; the emperor's refusal to deliver up the sons of Francis; and the non-payment of the fines which the king of England claimed.

1528. War declared by England and France, Jan. 22.

When the heralds had concluded, the emperor replied to Clarencieux, that he had no share in the Pope's imprisonment, but, on the contrary, had done all in his power to put an end to it; that, when the treaty of Madrid should be performed, the French princes would be free, and that he was ready to discharge the debt he owed to the king of England. He, however, accepted Henry's defiance, adding a caution to him, to place less confidence in the

The emperor's reply to Clarencieux.

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cardinal of York, who, he said, had sworn to engage his master and himself in a quarrel, in revenge for Charles not having employed his army of Italy to make him Pope by force, as Wolsey and Henry had in their letters repeatedly urged him to do.(a) To Guyenne he addressed himself in a very different tone. He told him, that now to declare a war, which for the last seven years had subsisted between them, would have been idle on the part of Francis if he had been free; but being, as he was, his prisoner, liberated only on the faith of a promise which he had broken, it was a proceeding in the highest degree unbecoming and insolent; that if Francis was as jealous of his fame as he pretended to be; if he had a proper sense of honour, or possessed the feelings of a gentleman, he would have understood and replied to a message, which he, Charles, had sent him two years ago by Calvimont his ambassador. Bidding him repeat these words to his master, he dismissed the French herald without further explanation.

And to Guyenne.

Guyenne reported exactly the emperor's message, and Francis, who could not penetrate its meaning, wrote instantly to Calvimont, who was then in Spain, for an explanation of it. Calvimont, who had, or affected to have forgotten the purport of the emperor's speech, wrote a respectful entreaty to him, that he would repeat it, in order that he might lay it before

Charles invites Francis to a duel.

(a) Legrand, App. vol. iii.

his master. Charles replied almost immediately, that he had told the ambassador upon the occasion to which he referred, that Francis had basely violated his word pledged at Madrid; and that if he ventured to deny it, he (the emperor) would maintain the truth of his charge to his teeth, and with his sword; that while Christendom was threatened by enemies on all sides, it was unnecessary and unjust for kings, who ought to be its protectors, to shed their subjects' blood for any other than that common cause; and that he was ready therefore to settle this, their private quarrel, in a private and personal encounter.

The ambassadors at the Spanish court imprisoned.

Immediately on his receiving the declaration of war, Charles had resorted to the unjustifiable expedient of putting the ambassadors of France and the other confederate powers under arrest. Francis, by way of reprisal, sent the Spanish ambassador to the Chatelet; whereupon the emperor released the envoys in his dominions. Francis now assembled his court, and in their presence gave the Spanish ambassador, who had been recalled, his farewell audience. After some words of apology to the minister for the severity with which he had been compelled to treat him, he bade him tell the emperor that he had most foully calumniated him. He stated rapidly and passionately the events of the late wars; denied that he was bound by the treaty of Madrid, which had been extorted from him; or that he was the prisoner of the emperor, whom he had never

Francis retaliates

Francis's reply to the emperor's challenge.

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met in the field, but who had more than once fled at his approach. After a long speech he bade the herald at arms read a cartel of defiance addressed to the emperor, in which Francis in plain, but somewhat brutal language, accused the emperor of having lied in his throat, (*a*) and called upon him to fix the time and place, where, hand to hand, they might settle their quarrel. This defiance was offered to the ambassador, who declined to be the bearer of it; it was, therefore, intrusted to the herald, and the assembly broke up, not however without Francis having forgotten his kingly dignity, and violated all moderation and decorum.

Guyenne bears a cartel to the emperor.

Guyenne delivered Francis's challenge to the emperor at Moncon, in Arragon, and told him that he was expressly forbidden to be the bearer of any other reply than one which should fix the place of combat. The emperor answered, that

(*a*) "Vous farons entendre que si vous nous avez voulou ou voulez charger que jamais nous ayons fait chose qu'un gentilhomme aimant son honneur ne doive faire, nous disans que vous avez menti par la gorge; qu'autant de fois que vous le direz vous mentirez; estant déliberé de défendre nostre honneur jusqu'au dernier jour de nostre vie. Pourquoi, puisque contre verite vous nous avez voulu charger, desormais ne nous écrivez aucune chose; mais nous assurez le camp, nous vous porterons les armes; protestant que si après cette déclaration en autres lieux vous écrivez ou dites paroles qui soient contre nostre honneur que la honte du delai du combat en sera vostre; vu que venant audit combat, c'est la fin de toutes écritures. Fait en nostre bonne Ville et Cité de Paris, le vingt-huitième jour de Mars, l'an 1528, avant Pasques. FRANÇOIS."—Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 657.

Francis had no right to dictate terms to him in his own dominions, and desiring Guyenne to procure a safe-conduct for a herald of his own, whom he would send with his answer, he dismissed him.

Burgundy dispatched with Charles's answer.

Charles lost no time in replying to Francis's defiance. He sent Burgundy, a herald at arms, with a lengthened reply to Francis's speech, in which he rehearsed the whole statement of the grievances of which he complained. He made his herald also the bearer of a cartel, wherein he fixed the day and the place of combat, which he proposed should take place on the bank of the Bidassoa. "It is a place which must needs be well known to you," he wrote to Francis; "it is that spot in which I restored you to freedom —in which you gave me your children as pledges for the performance of the treaty you have so shamefully violated. You cannot reasonably object to it, for it is situated as much in your dominions as in mine. One gentleman on either part shall make arrangements for the meeting, and settle the weapons of the fight; and if you regard your honour, you can, under no pretext, now refuse to meet me." (*a*) Burgundy repaired to France, but met with so many obstacles, that it was long before he was able to

(*a*) Charles had applied to Castiglione, the author of Il Cortegiano, to be his second in this duel; and had sent him an authenticated copy of the treaty of Madrid, to convince him of the justice of the quarrel in which he sought his assistance.

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gain an interview with the king; and although, among all Francis's faults, a want of personal courage cannot be reckoned, it is impossible to account for the delay which took place between Burgundy's arrival on the French frontier and his delivery of his hostile message to the king, excepting on the ground that Francis had expressly stated in his challenge, he would receive no other communication from Charles, than an appointment for the time and place of the duel, and that he had learnt the herald was the bearer of a long written explanation which he was ordered to read.

1528. The herald arrived at Fontarabia on the last day of June, where he stopped, the promised safe-conduct not having arrived. The governor of Bayonne asked if he came to fix the place of combat. Burgundy assured him he did. Still the governor, believing that was not the sole object of his errand, took upon himself to withhold the passport until he had received further directions from the king. Several days were spent in the transmission of frivolous messages on the part of the governor, and it was not until the 17th of August that he sent Burgundy his safe-conduct, accompanied by a letter in the king's own writing, in which Francis reproved the governor for not having before conducted him to Paris. Burgundy then proceeded to Etampes, which he did not reach until the 7th of September, and where he was met by the herald Guyenne, who told him the king was gone to hunt

at Montfort l'Amaury, and that he was commissioned to conduct him to Longjumeau, where Francis would send him word on what day he would receive his message. Some other days were passed, in which Burgundy's impatience was loudly and unequivocally expressed, and at length he insisted on going to Paris. Guyenne then said he had received the king's directions, and would take him to the metropolis. Arrived at the gates of the city, a contest ensued between them on a most frivolous subject. Burgundy wore a tabard, on which were blazoned the arms of the province, whose name he bore, and to which the emperor laid claim. This Guyenne insisted he should take off before he entered the city. Burgundy positively refused, and Guyenne, finding that he could not prevail on him by persuasions, endeavoured to excite his fears, by telling him that he would not answer for his safety, if he should present himself before the assembled populace of Paris, in a dress which conveyed an insult to the king and the nation. Burgundy was inflexible, and at length he was permitted to enter in the obnoxious tabard, and in that guise presented himself on the 10th of September before the king, who had assembled in his palace the princes of the blood, the prelates, and nobility of France.

Francis receives him.

As soon as he entered, and before he had finished his obeisances to the king, Francis exclaimed, "Herald, do you come to fix the place of combat?" "Sire," replied Burgundy,

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"permit me to perform my office and to deliver the message with which the emperor has charged me." "No!" cried Francis, "I will not hear one word unless you first shew me an assurance of the place of combat, signed by your master." The Spanish herald then attempted to read the cartel. "I bid you give me your master's letter," said Francis, "you may harangue afterwards as much as you will." "Sire," replied the herald, "my orders are first to read the cartel, and then to deliver it." "What!" cried Francis, rising hastily from his seat, "does your master wish to introduce new customs in my kingdom, and to prescribe laws to me in my own court? This is some new trick of his hypocrisy." "Sire," replied the herald, firmly, "my master neither does nor means to do anything but what becomes a brave and honourable prince." Francis replied by a sneer, and, when Montmorenci would have interfered to check the immoderate anger by which Francis was transported, he put him aside, and declared that he would not hear another word until the place of the proposed duel was fixed. "Give me your cartel," he said to the herald, "or begone as you came." Burgundy replied respectfully, "Sire, I cannot perform my office without your permission, which I now crave; if you refuse it, let me have that refusal in writing, and my safe-conduct." Francis ordered them to be given to him, and the herald quitted the assembly. Two days afterwards he applied to Montmorenci for a written

The Spanish herald is dismissed.

refusal. A paper was given to him, containing a statement of the audience, which Burgundy refused to accept; because, he said, the king's violence was not described, and his own replies were not correctly repeated; and on the 16th of September he quitted Paris, on his road back to Spain. (*a*)

By this ridiculous termination of a proceeding which at first sight assumed so hostile a form, both monarchs exposed themselves to animadversion, and scarcely escaped contempt. To doubt the courage of either is impossible. The impetuosity of Francis was ill advised and unsuited to the occasion; but it must be remembered that he had explicitly stated, he would receive from the emperor neither message nor reply, save that which should appoint the place of combat, and that this was pertinaciously and advisedly refused. On the other hand, the deception and caution which Charles almost constantly displayed, may afford reasonable ground for doubting whether he was as sincere as he pretended to be, in his offer to decide the quarrel by a personal encounter. From the eclat which this affair gained, the practice of deciding private quarrels by duel became of frequent occurrence: a practice which, although it is confes-

Treaty with England.

(*a*) Du Bellay, l. iii. Gaillard, l. iii. c. 13, who has extracted his account of this curious affair from a chronicle contained in Nos. 8471 and 8472 of the MSS. de Bethune, in the French king's library.

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sedly always unchristian, and almost always unsatisfactory, can hardly be dispensed with in the artificial state of society out of which it has grown, and which now prevails throughout Europe.

Lautrec's campaign in Italy.

While this affair was in progress, Lautrec, who had passed the Alps at the end of July, at the head of a large and well-furnished army, pushed his conquests in the Milanese with a vigour which da Leyva, who commanded the imperial forces there, was in no condition effectually to oppose. If the French general had marched for Rome, and joined his forces with those of the old league, there was every probability that he would have driven the emperor's arms wholly out of Italy; but the intrigues of the Italian states, who saw his progress with jealousy, succeeded in keeping him in Lombardy. He, however, made himself master of Alexandria, and took Genoa, with the assistance of Andrea Doria, who made a simultaneous attack on it by sea. Vigevano next fell before him; he conquered the Lomeline, and took Pavia. While he was before the latter place, the cardinal Cibo came to him with an urgent message from the Pope, and implored him to march towards Rome, where his mere presence would, it was believed, effect his holiness's liberation. He represented too that the imperial army was so thinned by the effects of the disorderly life they had been leading ever since the sack of Rome,

and by the ravages of the plague, which had broken out among them in its most horrid form, that they could not withstand an attack. Sforza, on the other hand, besought him not to leave the siege of Milan, which must fall before him, and without the capture of which his other conquests were incomplete. Lautrec endeavoured to accomplish both these desirable objects; and, committing the siege of Milan to the Venetian troops, who, with Sforza's own army, he thought, would be sufficient for the reduction of that place, he marched the main body of his troops towards Rome.

Marches towards Rome.

This proceeding had the effect that Clement had anticipated. The emperor, who, although he was reluctant to set the Pope at liberty, was still less willing that he should be freed by any other power, immediately sent a commission to Ugo de Moncada, now the viceroy of Naples, (*a*) to treat with Clement for his liberation. The terms proposed were, that his holiness should pay the imperial army, without whose consent Charles had not the power of freeing him, their arrears of pay; that he should renounce all attempts to revenge himself, withdraw from all alliances with the emperor's enemies, and give him certain securities for the performance of his treaty. Clement temporized, and at the same time urged Lautrec to hasten his march, while the adroit pontiff conciliated his two most powerful enemies, Morone and the cardinal Colonna, both of

(*a*) Lannoy had died shortly before at Gaeta.

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whom had great influence with the army which held him in durance. (*a*)

The Pope is liberated.

As Lautrec advanced, the emperor's demands abated, and Clement was offered his liberation on payment of sixty-seven thousand ducats to the Germans, and thirty-five thousand to the Spanish soldiery, before they quitted Rome; and on engaging to make up the entire sum of three hundred and fifty thousand ducats by subsequent instalments within six months. This, as none of the money was to go into his own pocket, the emperor called setting him free without ransom. Ostia and Civita Vecchia, Forli and Civita Castellana, were to be surrendered as security to the emperor. Ippolito and Alessandro de' Medici, and the cardinals Cesis and Orsino, were given as hostages, and Clement was compelled, in violation of his own feelings and the holiness of his function, to raise the sum required by selling the dignity of cardinals. The 9th of December was fixed upon for his liberation, and he was to be conducted to Orvieto by a guard of Spanish soldiers; but, distrusting Moncada, he resolved not to place himself in his hands. At nightfall, on the 8th, he quitted the castle of St. Angelo in a humble disguise; and, having joined a troop of his own harquebussiers, who were waiting for him without the gates, he was escorted by them to Montefiascone, and then proceeded, almost alone, to Orvieto, whence, while the impression

(*a*) Belcar., l. xix. Guicciardini, l. xviii.

of his obligation was yet fresh, he wrote to Lautrec, thanking him in terms of fervent gratitude for his recovered liberty, of which he justly considered the French general the main instrument. (*a*)

Attempts to effect a pacification.

Lautrec endeavoured to persuade the Pope to join actively the league, and to assist the prosecution of his design, which aimed at nothing less than the conquest of Naples; but Clement, always timid, was still more inclined to forbearance by his recent imprisonment. He replied by offering his services to bring about a general pacification, and some negociations were entered into, which, however, produced no satisfactory result. Lautrec then determined to pursue his original plan, and, notwithstanding the severity of the winter, pushed on into the Capitanate and advanced to Troia, where the imperialists, on withdrawing from Rome, had taken up their quarters, with a view of checking the march of the French. Lautrec endeavoured to force the prince of Orange, who commanded the imperial troops, to an engagement, but the latter would not quit his entrenchments, and to attempt to force them would have been too hazardous an experiment. At length, after several weeks of inaction, during which the French army suffered dreadfully from the cold, the imperialists retreated by night, and conducted their march so rapidly and so secretly, that, when the daybreak discovered their absence, pursuit was impossible. (*b*)

Lautrec proceeds towards Naples.

(*a*) Du Bellay, l. iii. Guicciardini, l. xviii. Belcar., l. xix.
(*b*) Du Bellay, l. iii.

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Takes some fortresses and invests Naples.

Lautrec then proceeded to attack the most important places of the kingdom, which he took, and, by the beginning of May, had commenced the siege of Naples. (*a*)

And now, if he had been honestly assisted by the Venetians at sea, or, if the naval force of France had seconded his efforts, the slow but certain operation of famine must have insured him an easy victory over the city of Naples. But the republican state saw the success of the French arms with too much jealousy to help its triumph; and the injudicious conduct of Francis and his government had paralysed the effectual operations of the French navy.

Doria is discontented with the French government.

Andrea Doria, who had rendered France some most important services during the wars, had been treated with neglect and injustice, which had roused him to revenge. He was sprung from an ancient and noble Genoese family, and was strongly attached to the free institutions of his native republic. He had earnestly backed the request made by the Genoese to Francis, that they might be restored to their old form of government, and that France would accept their voluntary assistance, which they pledged, instead of exacting it from them as a duty. Doria had exerted all the influence which his past services and his distinguished reputation (for he was, confessedly, the most able naval commander of his time) gave him to effect an object so dear to himself and the state, and one which was, in itself, perfectly reasonable and just. His solici-

(*a*) Sleidan, l. vi.

tations were not only disregarded, but the French government endeavoured to raise the neighbouring port of Savona into a rivalry with that of Genoa. This was an injury not to be forgiven; and its bitterness was increased by the insolent disdain with which Doria was treated by the French court. The first symptoms of his discontent became manifest on the occasion of a quarrel which he had with Renzo da Ceri, who commanded the French galleys, and which caused the failure of a projected attack on Sicily. Doria retired to Genoa, where he remained inactive in moody discontent. He left the command of the galleys which were to blockade Naples by sea to his nephew Filippino Doria. The ships were not sufficiently numerous to make the blockade a strict and effectual one; and the prince of Orange, who had reason to think that the discipline kept-up on board the fleet was negligent and lax, planned an attack upon Filippino, which, if it had succeeded would have ridded him of a most dangerous enemy. He collected all his galleys; added to them as many fishing and other boats as could keep the sea, and, having filled them with troops, Moncada assumed the command of this flotilla, and prepared to attack Filippino so suddenly that he should not be able to bring all his strength to bear upon them at once. Lautrec, who had been informed by his spies of this project, put Filippino on his guard, and at the same time secretly sent him four hundred harquebus-

The battle of Salerno.

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siers. The attack was made with great vigour in the gulf of Salerno, but was successfully repelled. Of the whole Neapolitan force two galleys only escaped; (*a*) out of eight hundred soldiers seven hundred were slain or drowned; Moncada was shot dead; and Ascanio and Camilla Colonna, the prince of Salerno, and the marquis du Guast, with other leaders, were taken prisoners. Filippino Doria sailed with them for France. On his arrival at Genoa Andrea Doria took charge of the prisoners, and expressed his determination of keeping them until he should be indemnified by the French government, as well for the arrears of pay which were due to him, as for the ransom of the prince of Orange and Moncada, whom he had taken some time before the battle of Pavia, and whom Francis had released by the treaty of Madrid, as Doria contended, at his expense. At the same time he dispatched a gentleman to the French court to state these his claims, and to solicit their allowance. Francis and his council were full of indignation at the disrespectful manner in which Doria had endeavoured to enforce his demand. The council, who knew nothing of the man with whom they had to deal, nor of his power, inflamed the king's anger, treated the detention of the prisoners as an act of treason,

Doria retains the prisoners.

(*a*) Of these two, one afterwards deserted to the fleet of Filippino, in consequence of the ill-judged severity of the prince of Orange, who, in a transport of rage, hanged the commander of the other on board his own galley, for having fled from the fight.—Belcar., l. xx.

and advised that Doria should be deprived of his command, and brought to trial for his offence.

Langei endeavours to reconcile them with Francis.

The marquis du Guast in the meantime availed himself of his imprisonment at Genoa to endeavour to gain Doria for the emperor. Du Bellay Langei, who was in Lautrec's camp, learnt what was going on, and, with Lautrec's concurrence, immediately set off for France, to avert, if it were possible, the perilous consequences which he saw must ensue from the loss of so valuable an adherent as Doria. In his way he stopped at Genoa, where he imparted to Doria, with whom he was on terms of strict intimacy, the object of his journey, and begged him to state explicitly the causes of his discontent with the French government. Doria told him frankly, that, provided the commerce of Genoa was secured, and his demands respecting the ransom of his prisoners were satisfied, he would continue to serve the king as he had done before, and would answer for the fidelity of the republic; but that if these reasonable conditions were refused, he would accept the offers which he confessed were made to him on the part of the emperor. Langei repaired to Paris, and endeavoured to convince Francis of the justice of Doria's request, and of the inexpediency of losing his assistance at so critical a time. This sage advice was overruled chiefly by the influence of the Chancellor du Prat. Barbesieux was appointed to the command of the French fleet, and of the Genoese galleys, with orders to

Doria is deprived of his command.

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seize Doria's person, and to send him a prisoner to France, there to receive punishment for his alleged treason. (*a*)

When Barbesieux arrived at Genoa with these orders, which it was so much easier to give than to execute, Doria received him on board his own galley. The French commander began, with some hesitation, to impart the subject of his errand, when Doria, who was as well acquainted as he with the intentions of the French government, interrupted him, by saying, "Sir, I know what you are commissioned to say and to do. Those are the galleys of France; these, shewing him the Genoese galleys, are those of the republic. The former I deliver up to you; the latter are under my command; and now execute the rest of your orders if you dare."

Joins the emperor.

Doria immediately afterwards concluded his negociations with the emperor, and entered his service. (*b*)

Relieves Naples.

His first exploit against France convinced the king of the imprudence he had committed in quarrelling with him. He sailed for Naples; furnished the city with an ample supply of provisions; and effectually defended it against any attack by sea. Lautrec's siege became consequently a long and disadvantageous one; the plague made dreadful ravages in his camp; he lost many officers and men; and was, himself, seriously attacked by the same fatal disease. His

(*a*) Du Bellay, l. iii.
(*b*) Brantome, Andr. Doria. Sigonius, l. i.

courage and activity, however, for some time supported him against the complication of disasters which assailed him. Notwithstanding his illness he visited and consoled the sick, and assured the discouraged soldiers that succours were on their way from France, and that a very short time would reward their sufferings by a glorious triumph. In the firm belief that the government would not, through their negligence, sacrifice the advantages he had so difficultly gained, he rejected the advice of his officers to raise the siege. At length his strength sunk under the disease, and he was confined to his bed. The anxiety of his charge, and the hope delayed of the expected reinforcement, augmented his malady; and, although his friends practised upon him the pious fraud of assuring him the plague had ceased its ravages, he discovered the truth, (*a*) and learnt that his army was in a

(*a*) Lautrec, who suspected that he was misinformed respecting the state of the camp, sent for two of his pages, and, having threatened to have them scourged to death if they did not tell him the truth, he asked them what was the real condition of the soldiery. The terrified boys gave him a true picture of the horrors which prevailed in the camp; and Lautrec, overcome with his mental and bodily sufferings turned round in his bed, and expired with a groan.—Brantome. Homm. Illustr. Lautrec.

Lautrec's corpse was first buried by his soldiers near the camp, but afterwards removed to Naples by a Spanish soldier, in the hope that his family would purchase his remains at a high price. Here they remained until Gonsalvo Ferdinand discovered them, when he had them conveyed, with due honours and pomp, to the church of Santa Maria la Nuova,

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The death of Lautrec.

state of the utmost misery and danger. The fatal news made so great an impression upon him, that he died instantly. With him fell all the hopes of the expedition. The marquis de Saluzzo assumed the command of the army, and ordered an immediate retreat, which was made in good order, but in which Pietro da Navarra was taken prisoner, and died soon after at Naples. (*a*) The army retired to Averso, where they were besieged by the imperialists; and the marquis de Saluzzo being so badly wounded in the knee, that he could no longer maintain the command, and the greater part of the army being worn out with sickness, a disgraceful, but an unavoidable capitulation was agreed to. The city and the castle with the artillery, arms, baggage, and horses, were given up to the Prince of Orange. The Italian soldiers engaged not to serve against the emperor for the ensuing six months; such

The army retreats under the command of the marquis of Saluzzo to Averso;

which capitulates.

and interred under a marble monument, on which he had inscribed the following epitaph: "Odeto Fexio Lautrecco, Consalvus Ferdinandus, Ludovici filius Cordubæ, magni Consalvi nepos, cum ejus ossa, quamvis hostis, ut belli fortuna tulerat, sine honore jacere comperisset, humanarum miseriarum memor, ita in avito sacello, duci Gallo Hispanus princeps posuit."—Le P. Daniel, tom. vii. p. 680.

(*a*) It has been said that he was strangled between two mattresses, by order of the emperor, as a punishment for his former desertion; a story which is wholly unsupported by evidence, and is highly improbable; because Navarra had before been his prisoner at Genoa without experiencing any extraordinary rigour; and such desertions as his were too common at the time either to be thought dishonourable or deserving punishment.

of the French troops as were not suffering from illness joined Renzo da Ceri, and the prince of Melphi, in the Abruzzi; and the sick were conducted to the French frontier under an escort furnished by the Prince of Orange. All the places which the French had taken in the kingdom of Naples were surrendered; the marquis of Saluzzo and his principal officers remained prisoners. The marquis died of his wounds soon afterwards at Naples, having held his command though but a short time, yet long enough to lose all that Lautrec had gained, and to effect the dispersion of the army of the league.

Death of Saluzzo.

The campaign in the Milanese, though more protracted in its duration, and more varied in its incidents, was not more fortunate in its ultimate result to France. The indefatigable da Leyva had victualled Milan, and by his activity kept the confederated army always in action, although he avoided coming to an engagement. The duke of Brunswick had raised for the emperor an army of ten thousand lanz-knechts, and six thousand horse in Germany, with which he marched into Italy to da Leyva's assistance; but the Spaniard, who had no inclination to share with the duke and his troops the glory and the profit of a war which he knew he could carry on alone, received him coolly. He persuaded him to lay siege to Lodi, and while he was engaged in this tedious and fruitless attempt, the plague made such ravages in his camp, that his lanz-knechts, who found their expectations of

The campaign in the Milanese.

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pillage wholly disappointed, and who could get none of their promised pay, deserted in great numbers. After a short time only two thousand men remained of the duke's army, and these da Leyva took into his own pay.(*a*)

The count de St. Pol arrived from France with an army, which, although it was nominally a very large one, was, like all the French levies, weakened by the rapacity and bad management of the leaders. He effected a junction with the troops of the league, but performed nothing of importance, except the taking of Pavia.

Genoa is freed from the dominion of France.

Doria, who had now returned from Naples, attacked Genoa, in the hope of driving the French out of it. Barbesieux fled with his galleys to Savona for safety, and Teodoro Trivulzio, who commanded in the town, retired to the citadel. Doria entered the city, the people rose in his favour, the French yoke was broken, and Doria was hailed as the deliverer of his country. St. Pol sent a force to the assistance of Trivulzio, but the soldiers deserted because they had received no pay before they reached their place of destination. St. Pol set off himself in person, but it was then too late; Trivulzio had been obliged to surrender, Genoa was free, and had adopted, with Doria's advice, a popular form of government, which, retaining all the liberty they had enjoyed in their former independence, protected them against the party dissensions between the nobility and the people,

(*a*) Guicciardini, l. xviii.

that had proved so fatal on other occasions. Doria himself used with great moderation the advantages which his good fortune and his talents had procured him. He refused all rewards, declined all public honours, was satisfied with seeing his country prosperous and free, and sufficiently recompensed by the consciousness that his own efforts had mainly contributed to bring back so happy a state of things.

The count de St. Pol defeated at Landriano.

The count de St. Pol, in the mean time, remained almost inactive. He made an attempt to seize Doria in his palace on the sea-shore, which failed in its main object, Doria having just time to put to sea in an open boat, but enriched the soldiers with the plunder of his magnificent residence. The operations of the confederates were tardy and ineffectual; and St. Pol, who was bent upon recovering Genoa, and was desirous of effecting his enterprise alone, sent his advanced guard from Landriano to Lardirago, intending to join it in person on the following day. Da Leyva, who watched his movements very closely, and had just received a reinforcement, learnt that the river which St. Pol had to cross, was so swelled, that his artillery could not pass. Although da Leyva was so crippled with the gout that he could not mount his horse, he put on his armour and causing four of his men to carry him in a chair to the attack, he came up with St. Pol's division before day-break, and of course when he was least expected. The surprise was complete; and long before the

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two bodies of the French troops could be reunited, the first was defeated. St. Pol himself, compelled to fly by the hurried retreat of his soldiers, attempted to leap a large trench, but his horse was so much exhausted that he fell in the midst of it, narrowly escaped suffocation in the mud, and was made prisoner, with four of his officers. The cavalry, which had escaped, carried the news to Pavia, and exaggerated their loss and the numbers of the imperialists to such a degree, that the van-guard determined to offer no resistance. The whole of the French army was by these means dispersed. Such of them as were able made the best of their way to the frontier of their own country, and Italy was completely evacuated. (*a*)

The army is dispersed.

Proceedings relating to the divorce of Hen. VIII.

From the period at which Wolsey had set on foot the operations of the league, he never ceased his solicitations to the Pope until he extorted from him a decree that the marriage of Henry and Catherine was invalid, and a commission, by which the cardinal Campeggio was authorized to hear and determine the cause in England. It was with reluctance that Clement acceded to the urgent entreaties of Gardiner, the English minister at Rome; and when at length he complied, it was evidently rather through fear of the threats, which Gardiner openly directed against him, that the king of England would leave him in his thraldom and quit the league, than because he was convinced by his arguments or by

(*a*) Du Bellay, l. iii.. Guicciardini, l. xix. Belcar., l. xx.

the justice of the case, which indeed he frankly confessed he was too ignorant of the law to decide. The decretal bull was given by him to Campeggio, with an understanding that it should not be made public, in order to protect Clement from the vengeance of the emperor, who had made him promise that he would not decide the question of his aunt's marriage without first apprising him of his intention. Campeggio performed this part of his errand effectually, by embezzling or destroying the document; but that it had passed the Pope's seal is indisputable. (*a*) After long delays the commission was

(*a*) The indignation which was felt in England at so barefaced a juggle, was openly expressed in council by the duke of Suffolk, when a lively scene ensued between him and the cardinal of York, who reproached him, not without reason, for having forgotten the service he had rendered him in his marriage.

The legates had been careful to prolong the trial by repeated adjournments, till they reached that term when the summer vacation commenced, according to the practice of the Rota. On the 23rd of July they held the last session: the king attended in a neighbouring room, from which he could see and hear the proceedings; and his council, in lofty terms, called for the judgment of the court. But Campeggio replied, that judgment must be deferred until the whole of the proceedings had been laid before the pontiff: that he had come there to do justice, and no consideration should divert him from his duty: he was too old, and weak, and sickly to seek the favour or fear the resentment of any man: the defendant had challenged him and his colleague as judges, because they were the subjects of her opponent: to avoid error, they had therefore determined to consult the apostolic see, and for that purpose adjourned the court to the commencement of

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opened in England, but the proceedings were protracted by every device that the ingenuity of the artful Italian could suggest; and at length the queen's appeal from the judgment of the commission in England to the Pope in person at Rome, furnished him with a feasible pretext for adjourning the further discussion of the question, of which he availed himself, in spite of the remonstrances of Henry and Wolsey. These transactions filled the period of the Italian cam-

the next term, in the beginning of October. At these words the duke of Suffolk, striking the table, exclaimed with vehemence, that the old saw was now verified: "Never did cardinal bring good to England!" Though Wolsey was aware of the danger, his spirit could not brook this insult. Rising with apparent calmness he said, "Sir, of all men living you have least reason to dispraise cardinals: for if I, a poor cardinal, had not been, you would not, at this present, have had a head upon your shoulders, wherewith to make such a brag in disrepute of us, who have meant you no harm, and have given you no cause of offence. If you, my lord, were the king's ambassador in foreign parts, would you venture to decide on important matters without first consulting your sovereign? We are also commissioners, and cannot proceed to judgment without the knowledge of him, from whom our authority proceeds. Therefore do we neither more nor less than our commission alloweth; and if any man will be offended with us, he is an unwise man. Pacify yourself then, my lord, and speak not reproachfully of your best friend. You know what friendship I have shewn you; but this is the first time I ever revealed it, either to my own praise or your dishonour." The Court was then dissolved, and in less than a fortnight it was known that Clement had revoked the commission of the legates on the fifteenth of the same month. —Cavendish, 434. Herbert, 278. Lingard, vol. vi. p. 203.

paign, which has been described, and it was upon the news of its termination that Campeggio resorted to the above expedient. (*a*)

The Pope effects a treaty with the emperor.

The immediate result of the defeat of the French army at Lardirago, was a general pacification. The Pope saw that to expect any effectual aid from France would be in vain, and of his own inability to withstand the emperor he had been too painfully convinced. He made therefore proposals for a treaty of peace, which were agreed to and ratified at Barcelona on the 29th of June. The terms of the treaty were, that Clement should reinvest Charles in his title to Naples, while the emperor should assist Clement in again establishing the sunken ecclesiastical power, and in repressing the efforts of the partisans of the reformation. The emperor stipulated also, that he would restore to the holy see Ravenna, Modena, and Reggio, the salt monopoly of Cervia, reinstate Alexander de' Medici in the government of Florence, which had revolted from the dominion of the Medici during the late troubles, assist Clement against the duke of Ferrara, and pardon Sforza upon certain conditions. In consequence of this arrangement, Clement recalled Campeggio from England, and allowed the queen's appeal to his own court, which ef-

(*a*) The particulars of the negociations with the Pope on this subject, and their result, are stated with great clearness and minuteness in Turner's Henry VIII., chap. xxii. xxiii. and xxiv.

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fectually frustrated all Henry's hopes of gaining from Clement a sentence of divorce on which he could act, and convinced him that he had been deluded.

Francis proposes a peace.

Francis, whose recent failure in Italy had begun to make him despair of effecting the liberation of his sons by the force of his arms, and who was yet deeply and naturally anxious to free them from the custody of the emperor, determined, upon learning the Pope's treaty, to endeavour to effect his object by pacific means. Negociations were begun, and it was settled, that his mother, on his part, and the Lady Margaret, the regent of the Low Countries, whom the emperor had empowered to treat for him, should meet at Cambray to arrange the terms of the release of the royal children, and a truce between the monarchs. The ladies entered upon their office, and, after long deliberations, at which the ministers of the European powers were present, a peace, which was called from the persons by whom it was settled, "the Ladies' Peace," was agreed on. Francis undertook to relinquish Artois and Flanders to Charles, and to withdraw from Italy at once his claims and the means of enforcing them. He was immediately to complete his contracted marriage with the Queen Eleanora; to settle upon the male issue of their union the contested duchy of Burgundy; and to engage for the payment of two hundred millions of crowns, in which sum

The treaty of Cambray.

was included the debt to England. (*a*) The emperor stipulated also that Bourbon's attainder should be reversed, and his heirs permitted to succeed to his property; and upon these conditions he consented to give up the princes.

1529. The Ladies' peace is proclaimed.

On the 5th of August the treaty was published, and, soon afterwards, the maréchal Montmorenci repaired to the Spanish frontiers with the money which had been fixed as their ransom, and to receive the princes. (*b*) The exchange was effected in nearly the same manner as that of Francis had been performed, and it took place on the same spot. The queen of Portugal, with the sons of Francis, appeared on the Spanish side of the Bidassoa, accompanied by the constable of Castile; and on the Navarre bank was Montmorenci with forty-eight cases, which had been fastened up and sealed with the signets of Francis and Charles, and which contained the money. They approached at the same moment a boat which was in the middle of the stream, and there the exchange

The French princes are freed.

(*a*) Henry afterwards released this debt to Francis, and sent one of the royal jewels, which had been pawned with him, as a present to his god-child, the prince Henry.—Rym. Fœd., vol. xiv.

(*b*) This exchange was delayed by means of the chancellor du Prat, who, in that spirit of baseness and tricking which he had so often displayed, endeavoured to defraud the emperor in the weight and value of the specie which was to be delivered to him. His cheat was detected, and the necessity of sending to Paris for the sum required to make up the deficiency postponed for a time the princes' discharge.

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The queen Eleanora enters Paris.

Francis and Eleanora are married, and return to Paris.

was effected. The queen Eleanora and the princes landed in France, and were conveyed to Bourdeaux; where the king met them. The royal nuptials were then celebrated; on the 5th of March following, Eleanora made her formal entry into Paris as queen of France, and once more the country enjoyed a respite from the exhausting and harassing wars in which she had been so long engaged.

## CHAP. XIII.

*The king reforms the Administration of Justice—Revives the Grand Jours—Establishes Professorships—Danes—Paradis—Guidacerio—Vatable—Latomus—Galland—Postel—Vicomercato—State of Literature in France—Marot—The Queen of Navarre—Rabelais—The King's Poems—State of the Fine Arts in France—The King brings da Vinci to Paris—Jean Cousin—Francois Clouet—Leonard de Limoges—Andrea del Sarto—Maitre Roux—Benvenuto Cellini—Primaticcio—Titian—Brittany annexed to the crown of France—Death of the Duchess d'Angoulême—State of Religion in France—Luther's propositions condemned by the Sorbonne—Persecutions of the Reformers—Le Clerc is put to death—The Emperor visits Italy and Germany—Diet of Spires—Protest of the Lutherans—Confession of Augsburg—League of Smalkalden—Francis joins the League—Regulates the Finances, and provides an Army—The Turks invade Hungary—Interview between Francis and Henry at Boulogne—Interview between the Pope and the King—Marriage of the Dauphin and Catherine de' Medici.*

## CHAPTER XIII.

FRANCIS having thus obtained for his country a respite from the distractions of war, applied himself with earnestness to the redress of the evils which those disorders had occasioned, and to rectify the domestic economy of his kingdom. His first and most important object was to reform the administration of justice, which, during the recent troubles and the consequent neglect of the government, had degenerated into a state of great weakness and corruption. In the provinces particularly, some of the nobility had, under colour of their territorial jurisdictions, so encroached upon the common law of the land, that justice was administered at their mere caprice, or, what was worse, as suited their private interests. To remedy these abuses Francis re-established the institution of the Grands Jours, which had fallen into disuse since the reign of Charles the Seventh. This was an ambulatory tribunal, composed of the Maîtres des Requêtes, counsellors of parliament, and other judges, who held solemn assizes in such of the provinces as the king's commission specified, and who had supreme jurisdiction over all criminal matters, and in all civil plaints to a certain amount.

The king reforms the administration of justice.

Revives the Grands Jours.

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Establishes professorships.

He turned his attention also to the establishment of the royal college, which he had never forgotten, although the wars and his imprisonment had prevented him from the execution of the magnificent design which he had formed. With a view of making such preparations as would ultimately favour this enterprise, he immediately established in the university of Paris professorships for Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, with ample endowments; and selected, with great discrimination, or with rare good fortune, some of the most learned men in the world to fill them. (*a*) The first Greek professor was the celebrated Pierre Danès; (*b*) and Paradis, (*c*) Guidacerio.

Danès. Paradis. Guidacerio.

(*a*) Mém. sur le Collége Royal.

(*b*) Pierre Danès was born at Paris in the year 1497, of an ancient and honourable family. He was one of the most accomplished men of his day, and was described by his pupil Genebrard as "a great orator, a great philosopher, a good mathematician, and well versed in medicine and theology." He was perfectly skilled in the ancient languages; published, in 1533, an edition of Pliny, and assisted de Selve, afterwards bishop of Lavaur, in a translation of Plutarch, the first volume of which appeared in 1535. In the latter year he made a journey with de Selve to Italy, for the purpose of collecting manuscripts, and enjoying the society of the learned men who resided there. He afterwards filled some more important public employments; defended Francis against an attack made upon him by the emperor at Rome in 1536; and wrote a treatise on the office of ambassador. His charity and beneficence lent a lustre to his acquirements, and procured for him the title of the "Father of the afflicted."

(*c*) Paul Paradis, dit le Canosse, was born at Venice, of Jewish parents, whose religion he early renounced. He was profoundly skilled in Hebrew, and possessed the talent of imparting his knowledge to others in an extraordinary de-

Vatable Latomus.

rio, (*a*) and Vatable, (*b*) successively held the professorship of Hebrew. Barthelemi Latomus, (*c*) gree. The most learned men in Paris were among his pupils; and Margaret de Valois, who had a thirst for knowledge, very remarkable for her sex and her times, took lessons of him, and recommended him to the king's favour.

(*a*) Guidacerio had been distinguished for his learning by the family of the Medici, and was publicly teaching Hebrew at Rome, when it was sacked by Bourbon's army. He then repaired to Paris, where he says Francis had insured him a destiny more tranquil and happy than the Medici or the Pope could have procured for him in Italy. He wrote a Hebrew grammar, which he dedicated to Leo X., and some commentaries on the Psalms, and on several books of the Bible.

(*b*) François Vatable was a priest, whose learning raised him from the obscure station which his birth would have assigned to him. His ardent love of study, and his rare talents, enabled him so far to profit by the lessons of the learned foreigners whom the encouragement of Louis XII. and Francis had drawn into the kingdom, that he was believed to have surpassed them all. He translated and wrote commentaries on several parts of the Bible, which drew upon him the persecutions of the intolerant Catholics of his time, who accused him of heresy. Francis, however, protected him against their attacks, gave him the professorship of Hebrew, and the abbey of Bellinzone. He died only a fortnight before his benefactor, regretted by all who could appreciate his talents, and in the bosom of the Catholic church, notwithstanding the aspersions of his enemies.

(*c*) Latomus, or le Masson, was the first professor of Latin eloquence. On the occasion of a tumult, which took place in the year 1537, respecting the reformed religion, he was with difficulty saved from the fury of the mob, who concluded, because he was born in the duchy of Luxemburg, that he must be a Lutheran. He was obliged, at an advanced age, to quit the classical pursuits which he loved, to engage in a religious controversy with Martin Bucer. He published annotations upon Cicero and Terence, and wrote a great

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Galland.

Postel.

and Pierre Galland (*a*) taught the Latin language and literature. The king founded also a professorship of mathematics, which the celebrated and eccentric Postel (*b*) filled, and

quantity of Latin verses celebrating Francis I., the emperors Maximilian and Charles, his countryman Sickinghen, and others.

(*a*) Galland succeeded Latomus. He wrote a life of du Chattel, and an eloquent funeral oration on Francis, which he pronounced publicly in the college.

(*b*) Guillaume Postel taught mathematics and the oriental languages. His learning was of the first order, but his conduct was so extraordinary as to give reason for doubting his sanity. He was born in 1510, in the diocese of Avranches, and lost his father and mother by a pestilential disease when he was only eight years old. When he was fourteen years of age he kept a school at the village of Say, near Pontoise. He then went to Paris, where the scantiness of his means compelled him to associate with some persons as poor as himself, by whom he was stripped and so maltreated that he was obliged to go to a hospital, where he was detained by sickness for two years. A great dearth which prevailed drove him from Paris; and he went during the autumn to Beauce, where he supported his existence by gleaning. He returned to Paris, and obtained employment as a servant to some of the tutors of the college, where he applied himself so ardently to study, that in a short time he surpassed his instructors, and acquired the reputation of extraordinary learning. He became professor of mathematics, and at the same time taught the eastern languages. Francis employed him to collect manuscripts for him in the Levant, a commission which he filled with great success. His unremitting study, however, appears to have had an injurious effect upon his reason. He affected the mystic doctrines of the Rabbis, and persuaded himself that he was favoured with visions, in which the angel Raziel revealed to him the secrets of heaven. He conceived the project of reconciling the differences of faith which prevailed, and of bringing all mankind to one

Vicomercato (*a*) gave lectures on the Greek and Latin philosophy. The science of surgery began under the liberal encouragement of Francis to free itself from the superstitions by which the ignorance of its professors had disgraced it, and impeded its progress; but, although the king was fully sensible of the value and importance of the discoveries to which he gave so favourable an impulse, he was not sufficiently above the influence of the times in which he lived, to free himself from the vulgar prejudices that prevailed respecting the professors of medicine. (*b*)

religion, in pursuit of which he printed a book called Concordium Mundi. He sought an interview with Francis, in which he promised him the universal monarchy, on condition that he would reform his court, his household, the church, and the universities; and above all, the administration of justice. Francis promised all, and Postel assured him that he should be sovereign of all the world. Full of his project he went to Rome, became a Jesuit, but differing from some of the brethren retired to Venice, where he committed many extravagancies, and under the influence of an old woman, who was as mad as himself, he wrote a treatise called De Vinculo Mundi, in which he asserted, that the universal government was to be held by women. He returned to Paris, and was confined in the monastery of Saint Martin des Champs until September, 1581, when he died.

(*a*) Vicomercato was a learned Milanese, who had been professor in some of the foreign universities, and who distinguished himself in France by his commentaries on the works of Aristotle.

(*b*) Jews and Arabs were then the most renowned professors of medicine, and the vulgar notions had so confounded their knowledge with their religion, that, unless they professed the faith of their several nations, they were not relied

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State of literature in France.

Having established the professorships, he would have proceeded to erect the royal college to which they were to belong. Plans for that edifice were drawn out; the site of the Hotel de Nesle was assigned for it; and Francis had announced his intention of endowing it with an annual revenue of a hundred thousand livres for the gratuitous education of six hundred scholars. This noble intention was frustrated by the mischievous counsels of the chancellor du Prat, who, possessing himself no learning, and having attained an eminent rank in a profession for which, unhappily, cunning and ingenuity, and a knowledge of the worst parts of human nature, are among the most serviceable qualifications, believed that no others were worth cultivating, and therefore represented to the king that the future wars with the emperor would require all his pecuniary resources, and that he could spare none for what he thought unprofitable studies. This suggestion prevailed. The professorships were, however, continued; and, although the

on. When Francis I. was suffering under a dangerous illness at Compiegne in 1538, he requested the emperor to send him from Spain a celebrated Jewish physician. On the arrival of this medical professor, he turned out to be a converted Jew, and was so well satisfied with the change of his religion that he boasted of it to the king. Francis was convinced, that in order to be effectually cured, he must have the aid of a real Jew, and he therefore dismissed the convert, and sent to Constantinople for an Israelite, who adhered to the faith of his fathers. The Jew came and cured him; but it was by a remedy which might have been prescribed with equal effect by a Christian; he simply told the king to drink asses' milk.—Gaillard, l. viii. c. 3.

good fortune of effecting this splendid design was reserved to a future monarch, the glory of having conceived it belongs indisputably to Francis. CHAP. XIII.

The effect of the king's enlightened liberality soon became apparent throughout his kingdom. The humanizing influence of learning began to pervade all conditions of society; and the nobility and gentry of France no longer felt themselves disgraced by the acquisition of other accomplishments than those of managing a battle steed, or wielding a weapon of war.

Although at this period the literature of France had produced nothing worthy of being remembered, the foundations were laid by the generous encouragement which the king extended to men of letters for the admirable works which afterwards raised the national reputation to so high a pitch of excellence. There were, during the reign of Francis, many writers of Latin verse, whose names and works have met with the fate which their vapid facility justly merited; but there were also some others, of whom at any period of her literary history France might have been justly proud, and of whose merit, although an improved taste and altered manners have taken from it much, enough still remains to justify the estimation in which their cotemporaries held them.

The first really illustrious name which occurs in the poetical history of France is that of Clement Marot. With very few of the advantages of learning, he had a natural energy and grace, which are superior to all that schools can teach; and feeling and reflection, that habit of Marot.

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observation, that power of imagination, and that happy ease of expression, which are the very essence of poetry, gave him a decided superiority, not only over all his cotemporaries, but over all the poets of France who succeeded him, until Malherbe added a tone and polish to French versification which has not, since his time, been surpassed. Marot's style possesses a neatness and naïveté of expression which have not, even now, lost their charms; which, in the best days of French poetry, commanded the admiration of Boileau; (*a*) and which la Fontaine avowedly imitated, but which he also exceeded. He possessed a natural power over the language, which gave a charm to every thing he wrote, however trifling, and which was displayed in all its strength and beauty in his epistles, and in the madrigals and epigrams in which his works abound. (*b*) He was one of

(*a*) "Imitons de Marot l'elegant badinage."—L'Art Poet., c. 1.

(*b*) We have given one of his epigrams on the execution of Semblançai (vol. i. page 365). The following was often cited by Voltaire, as one of the most felicitous in his country's language:

"Monsieur l'abbé et Monsieur son valet
Son fait egaux tous deux comme de cire,
L'un est grand fou, l'autre petit follet,
L'un veut railler, l'autre gaudir et rire.
L'un boit du bon, l'autre ne boit du pire,
Mais un débat le soir entre eux s'émeut;
Car maître Abbé toute la nuit ne veut
Etre sans vin, que sans secours ne meure,
Et son valet jamais dormir ne peut,
Tandis qu'au pot une goutte en demeure."

the household of the duchess d'Alençon, and followed her husband during the wars on the frontiers and elsewhere, until the battle of Pavia, where he was taken prisoner. Being ransomed with the other soldiers, he returned to Paris, and, as it is said, ventured to fix his hopes on the celebrated Diane de Poictiers, who had not then attained the power she afterwards possessed. This story has been very reasonably doubted by late writers; but it is certain that, during the king's imprisonment, Marot fell under the suspicion of having adopted Lutheran notions, and was sent to prison for no other offence, as he says, but that of having eaten bacon during Lent; and he expressly accuses his mistress, who has been supposed to be Diane, of having betrayed him. (*a*) He remained in prison for four years,

(*a*) "Un jour j'ecrivis à m'amye
Son inconstance seulement;
Mais elle ne fut endormie
A me le rendre chaudement:
Car dès l'heure tint parlement
A je ne sçai quel papelard,
Et lui à dit tout bellement,
Prenez-le, il a mangé le lard.

Lors six pendards ne faillent myc,
A me surprendre finement;
Et de jour, pour plus d'infamis,
Firent mon imprisonment.
Ils vinrent à mon logement:
Lors se va dire un gros paillard,
Par la, morbleu, voylà Clement,
Prenez-le, il a mangé le lard."

Ballade xi.

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notwithstanding his vehement assertions that he was neither

——————————— Lutheriste
Ne Zuinglien—moins Anabaptiste,

but a good Catholic, who had never written a single line—

Qui à la loi divine soit contraire.

He consoled his captivity by composing a satirical description of Hell, which he contended was no other than the Chatelêt, the place of his confinement, and in revising and modernising "Le Roman de la Rose," until the king's return restored him to freedom. In the following year he was again condemned to imprisonment for having attempted to rescue a man from the hands of the officers of justice, and was once more indebted to the king for his liberation. The epistle in which he invoked Francis's clemency has been cited as his happiest production in this style of writing, and is called by Menage, "wonderful." (a) Francis wrote to the court of

(a "Au Roy. Pour le Delivrer de Prison.

Roy des François, plein de toutes bontéz
Quinze jours a, je les ai bien comptez,
Et dès demain seront justement seize,
Que je fus fait confrère au diocese
De Sainct Marri, en l'eglise Sainct Pris:
Si vous dirai comment je fus surpris,
Et me deplaist qu'il faut que je le die.
Trois grands pendars vindrent à l'estourdie
En ce palais me dire en desarroy,
Nous vous faisons prisonnier par le Roy.

Aydes de Paris an order for his liberation. (*a*) The mere suspicion of his heretical inclinations



Incontinent qui fut bien estonné,
Ce fut Marot, plus que s'il eust tonné.
Puis m'ont monstré un parchemin escrit,
Ou n'y avoit seul mot de Jesus Christ:
Et ne parloit tout que de playderie,
De conseillers, et d'emprisonnerie."

* * * *

The impudence and humour of the latter part was found to be irresistible; and Marot was set at liberty.

" Vous n'entendez procés, non plus que moy;
Ne plaidons point, ce n'est que tout esmoy.
Je vous en croy, si je vous ay mes-faict,
Encor posé le cas que je' l'eusse faict,
Au pis aller n'y cherroit qu'une amende,
Prenez le cas, que je vous la demande,
Je prend le cas que vous me la donnez:

* * * *

Très humblement requerant vostre grace
De pardonner à ma trop grande audace,
D'avoir empris ce sot escrit vous faire:
Et m'excusez si, pour le mien afaire.
Je ne suis point vers vous allé parler:
Je le n'ai pas eu le loisir d'y aller."—Epistre xxvi.

(*a*) This has been given by Menage in his Anti Baillet, t. ii. l. cxii.—14th November, 1527. " Ce jour par l'Escuier Castillon ont été presentées à la cour les lettres missives du roi dont la teneur s'ensuit: Nos amez et féaux: Nous avons été avertis de l'emprisonement de notre cher et bien amé valet de chambre ordinaire, Clement Marot, et duement informés de la cause dudit emprisonement: qui est pour raison de recousse de certain prisonniers. Et pour ce qu'il a satisfait à sa partie, et qu'il n'est tenu que pour nôtre droit, à cette cause nous voulons, nous mandons, et très expressement enjoignons, que toutes excusations cessantes, ayés a delivrer et mettre hors des prisons. Si n'y faites fautes. Car tel est nôtre plaisir. Donné à Paris le 1er. Novembre.—FRANÇOIS."

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would have sufficed to make him an object of attack by Beda and the other religious bigots who at this time possessed great influence in Paris, while the irregularity and imprudence of his conduct prevented the effectual protection of his friends. He fled in 1535 to Bearn, where his first patroness, then become the queen of Navarre, held her court; and he afterwards found a refuge at Ferrara, with the lady Renée, who had married the duke. His thoughtless behaviour disgusted the duke, and he was compelled to withdraw to Venice, whence the intercession of his friends obtained his recall to Paris. He then translated the psalms, but although his versification delighted the king and his court, the faculty of theology found in it some want of orthodoxy, and at length their persecution drove him to that course of which they had unjustly accused him. He escaped to Geneva, and formed an intimacy with Calvin, whose doctrines he embraced; but his licentious habits suiting ill with the austere morality of the Genevan reformer, he once more removed to Turin, where he died in 1544. (*a*)

The queen of Navarre.

Francis's amiable and accomplished sister, Margaret, the brightest ornament of his court, and the pride of her sex and her country, wrote, under the title of "L'Heptameron de la reine de Navarre," a collection of tales which are among the best prose compositions of that pe-

(*a*) Goujet, Bibliot. Franc., t. xi.

riod. (a) If they were to be tried by the standard of taste which now prevails, and by the manners of the present day, they would be found infinitely too free; but considering the state of society in which she wrote, and comparing her novels even with the productions of serious cotemporary authors on serious subjects, they are as remarkable for their purity, as they are admirable for their wit and invention. The frame-work of her tales resembles in its contrivance that of Boccaccio, after whose example they were written for the amusement of herself and her friends. In the preface to her tales, she supposes that a company of ladies and gentlemen had assembled at Caulderets, in the Pyrennees, where there were some

L'Heptameron.

(a) After the death of her first husband, the duke d'Alençon (vol. ii. p. 11), she married, in 1527, Henri d'Albret, king of Navarre, by whom she had a daughter, Jeanne, who afterwards became the mother of Henri IV. In France, she was the protectress of the reformers, not because they were reformers, but because they were oppressed. In Navarre, her prudent exertions and virtuous example restored the peaceful arts which a series of wars had almost annihilated; and she had the satisfaction of seeing the revived agriculture and commerce of the country bring back its former prosperity. She incurred, without having deserved them, the censures of the bigotted clergy in Paris, was publicly ridiculed in a farce which the University represented, and a religious poem which she wrote, intitled "Le Miroir de l'Ame Pecheresse," was threatened to be prohibited. These insults did not deter her from continuing to succour the unfortunate; and she bore, without complaining, the imputation of heresy, which had no other foundation than in that christian charity which she almost singly exercised in a court filled with the most ignorant and fierce persecutors.

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celebrated warm springs, and that at the end of the season, which is the latter part of autumn, such abundance of rain fell, that every one was compelled to leave the small cottages, which were the only habitations in this remote village, and betake themselves homeward in all haste. A complication of disasters befell them. Some, in crossing the rivers, were swept away by the rapidity of the torrent; others struck into the forest, endeavouring to discover a new road, and were devoured by the wolves; others took refuge in villages inhabited by brigands, and narrowly escaped robbery and murder. The wisest repaired to the abbey of our Lady of Serrance, and here such of the others as were left joined them. While a bridge was being constructed, by which they might cross the river, they formed the project of each individual composing a story every day, which was then to be read for the general amusement. Of these tales twenty-two have been preserved; they are each followed by reflections, for the purpose of enforcing the moral which they contain, and a serious and a lively tale is told alternately.

Rabelais, whose writings in his own day were considered as the very perfection of wit and satire, is regarded in our's only as one of those men of genius who prostituted very considerable talents to an unworthy purpose, and who, capable of high efforts, satisfied himself with very base and feeble productions. A biting and satirical spirit prompted him to hold up to ridicule the per-

sonages and institutions with which he was familiar. Kings, magistrates, priests—even religion itself, fell under his lash; but as he was sensible of the danger he ran, in laying hands upon subjects which, if they were not, in a proper sense, sacred, were at least not to be touched with impunity, he endeavoured to conceal the malice of his design under the masque of a grotesque allegory; and like those court jesters, who were permitted to take liberties because they amused even the objects of their satire, he affected a buffoonery, which was degrading, for the purpose of avoiding the punishment his boldness would have provoked. (*a*) He has since experienced an extraordinary fate. His admirers, and he has had many and zealous ones, have endeavoured to prove that he possessed qualities of which his works give no indication, and to discover in him meanings of which he probably never dreamt; while, on the other hand, he has been unjustly decried as a ribald jester, whose nearest approach to wit was little better than the fortuitous and unmeaning sallies of a madman. The praise and the censure are equally unjust and unfounded; and although a

(*a*) His whole life, if his historians may be believed, was a series of farces as whimsical and as humorous as anything he has described. He was driven from the monastery in which he first entered, for having indulged his love of practical jesting, by assuming the place usually occupied by a statue of St. Francis, on a day when the country people brought their offerings to his shrine; and he died with an impious joke in his mouth, on a subject which is commonly thought the gravest.

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sound criticism would confine the admiration of his works to "this side idolatry," it cannot be denied that he possessed a powerful and original wit, which are not wholly obscured even by the puerility, and weakness, and indecency with which he has chosen to encumber his eccentric productions. The most valuable result of his example was, perhaps, that he opened to his countrymen a path which they afterwards pursued with unrivalled success; and his greatest praise that his works were read with delight and profit by Molière and la Fontaine.

The king's Poems.

Francis himself wrote some verses, which, considering the state of French poetry in his reign, deserved to be remembered, although they cannot be compared with the grace and facility of Marot's compositions. In his epitaphs on Agnes Sorel, (*a*) and on the celebrated Laura, (*b*) the

(*a*) ON AGNES SOREL.

"Ici dessoultz, des belles gist l'élite;
Car des louanges sa beauté plus merite,
Estant cause de France recouvrer,
Que tout cela qu'en cloistre peut ouvrer
Close nonain, ni en désert hermite."

(*b*) ON LAURA.

"En petit lieu compris vous pouvez voir
Ce qui comprend beaucoup par renommée;
Plume, labeur, la langue et le savoir,
Furent vaincus de l'amant par l'aimée.
O gentille âme! étant tant estimée,
Qui te pourra louer qu'en se taisant?
Car la parole est toujours reprimée,
Quand le sujet surmonte le disant."

sentiments are natural and simple, and are expressed with some elegance.(*a*) His facility of composition has been somewhat too highly praised for the distich which he wrote, with a diamond of his ring, on one of the windows of the palace of Chambord:

Souvent femme varie,
Mal habil qui s'y fie.

The incident has, however, had the merit of furnishing the subject of a well known picture to one of the best modern French painters.(*b*)

State of the fine arts in France.

At this period the fine arts in France had scarcely emerged from barbarism. While in Italy the works of Lionardo da Vinci, of Michael Angelo, and of Raffaelle, had raised their names to that exalted position which they will retain, in all probability, while the world lasts, (for the arts, like every thing else of human production, have their limits), France had produced no sculptor or painter of any remarkable talent. Francis, who had a refined taste and exalted sense of the useful and delightful influence of

(*a*) Francis wrote also some eclogues, as dull as eclogues can be, which is saying a great deal for them, a poetical epistle during his imprisonment at Madrid, and some other poems. Appendix, No. IX.

(*b*) Since the publication of the first edition of this history, an admirable engraving has been published from a picture on the same subject by Bonnington; an artist whose loss England has had to deplore, just at the moment that he had overcome the early difficulties of his profession, and had given promise of becoming one of the most eminent painters that our country has produced.

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The king brings da Vinci to Paris.

the fine arts, had applied himself from the earliest period of his power to encourage them. After the battle of Marignan he had brought Lionardo da Vinci with him to Paris, where he provided an asylum for his old age, and loaded him with the honours and rewards to which that veteran artist was so justly entitled. He purchased of him his picture of la Gioconda, for four thousand crowns, a royal price at that time, and treated him with great personal kindness until his death, which is said to have happened in Francis's arms. (*a*) Da Vinci gave public lessons in his art; and, although he was unwilling to risk his well earned reputation in the undertaking of any new work, his presence and his precepts gave an impulse to the art in France, which did not

(*a*) Vasari gives the following account of the great painter's last moments :—" At length seeing himself near death, he confessed himself with much contrition; and, although he was unable to stand, he desired his friends and servants to support him, that he might receive the holy sacrament out of bed, in a more reverent posture. It was when he was fatigued with this exertion that the king came to visit him, and Lionardo raising himself up in the bed, out of respect to his majesty, began to relate the circumstances of his illness, and reproached himself for the wrongs he had done both to God and man, by not making better use of his talents. In the midst of this conversation he was seized with a paroxysm, which proved the messenger of death : on seeing which, the king hastened to assist him, and supported him in his bed, in order to alleviate his sufferings; but his divine spirit knowing he could not receive greater honour, expired in the king's arms in the seventy-fifth year of his age."—Vasari, t. iii. in Vit. Lion. da Vinci.

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end with his life. Jean Cousin, the first historical painter of whom France can boast, was formed in his school. François Clouet, *dit* Janet, who painted the portraits of Francis and his court, followed him, and the rare talents of Leonard de Limoges, under the fostering encouragement of Francis, brought the art of enamelling to a degree of perfection, which has scarcely ever been surpassed. Francis spared no pains to draw into his kingdom the most celebrated painters of Italy. He attracted Andrea del Sarto, who, after painting a portrait of the dauphin, made a most unworthy return for the king's confidence, by embezzling a large sum of money, with which he had entrusted him for the purchase of pictures, and other objects of art in Italy. Maitre Roux, an artist of extraordinary and varied talent, and who was almost equally distinguished as an architect, a poet, a musician, and a painter, was warmly patronized by Francis. The building of the palace of Fontainebleau was committed to his direction, and the great gallery was painted by him with a series of pictures, representing the principal actions of Francis's life. The half-mad Benvenuto Cellini found employment for his varied talents in his court, and might have secured in France a protection from that persecution and severity which his restless and ungovernable spirit brought upon him in his native country; but for the insolent disdain which he manifested for the duchess d'Etampes, (*a*)

Jean Cousin.

François Clouet.

Leonard de Limoges.

Andrea del Sarto.

Maitre Roux.

(*a*) Vita di Cellini, t. ii.

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Primaticcio.

then in the zenith of her power, (*a*) and the not less influential Chancellor Poyet. Primaticcio at Francis's invitation visited France; but the violent quarrels in which he engaged with Maitre Roux, induced the king, during the life of the latter, to employ Primaticcio in collecting antiques for him in Italy. Before this task was accomplished Maitre Roux died; and Primaticcio, on his return to France, found himself without a rival in the king's favour. He embellished the palace

(*a*) Anne de Pisselieu, duchess d'Etampes, had been one of the maids of honour of the duchess d'Angoulême, and had been introduced by that convenient mother to Francis, on his return from Madrid, for the express purpose of counteracting the influence of the countess de Chateaubriand. Her beauty gained her great power over the king, which she is said to have exercised to the injury of the national interests, and her quarrels with Diane de Poictiers, the mistress of the dauphin, Henry, was a cause of frequent dissension between the king and his son. The ill-fated countess de Chateaubriand encountered the neglect which ensues when satiety takes the place of illicit passion. Varillas tells a story of her having been cruelly put to death by her jealous husband, during Francis's imprisonment; but it is wholly without foundation. Brantome has an account which is somewhat less questionable. He says, the duchess d'Etampes, not content with having displaced her in the king's affection, resolved to triumph over her mortification, and prevailed on Francis to send for the rings and jewels he had formerly given her. The countess replied to the messenger, that she was ill, and bade him return in three days for an answer. In the meantime she had the rings melted into ingots, and on the messenger's re-appearance gave them to him, saying, he would find the just weight there; but that for the inscriptions and devices, which had once been upon them, they were transferred to her heart.

of Fontainebleau with some admirable copies, in bronze, of the most celebrated statues in Italy. Titian, too, visited France, and there painted that well-known portrait of Francis, which is still in the Louvre, and which is one of the happiest productions of his unequalled pencil. (*a*) It was by Francis that the first foundations were laid for that rich collection of works of art which subsequent kings of France have so greatly increased.

Titian.

The alleged independence of Brittany, although merely nominal, was cherished by the people of that province with jealous pride; and Francis, who foresaw that it might hereafter be made a cause of contention, was extremely desirous to annex it indissolubly to the crown. The Chancellor du Prat had racked his fertile brain in vain for some expedient to colour this project, so as to make it acceptable to the Bretons, when Louis des Desserts, the president of the parliament of Brittany, suggested, that the least exceptionable way of effecting it would be to procure the states of Brittany themselves to solicit the union of their province with the crown of France, and he engaged to induce them to this measure. Francis eagerly embraced the proposition, although he doubted its success. The states were convened at Vannes, and des Desserts, who knew the people with whom he

Brittany annexed to the crown of France.

(*a*) The engraved portrait prefixed to this work is copied from Titian's picture.

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had to deal, managed his partisans so well, as to keep his promise with the king. The reunion of the province was demanded by the states, and granted by a royal charter. (*a*)

Death of the duchess d'Angoulême.

The duchess d'Angoulême, who had first suggested the scheme of annexing Brittany to the crown, did not live to see her design completed. She had been seized with an illness at Fontainebleau, which she suffered under during almost the whole of the year 1531. Having got better, and believing she was quite restored, she began a journey to Romorentin to see her son, but experienced a relapse on the road, and was obliged to stop at Grés en Gatinois, where she died on the 22d of September in that year.

She has been the object of much well deserved reprobation. Her influence during the greater part of her life was exerted most fatally for France. Her ill-advised passion for Bourbon drove him to his own destruction, and had nearly involved in it that of France; and her persecution of Semblançai was a crime so odious and sanguinary that it is impossible to discover any palliation of it. She has been praised for having exercised discreetly and usefully the power which her son's imprisonment placed in her

(*a*) The charter declared that Brittany was thenceforward irrevocably annexed to the crown, in favour of the dauphin and his descendants, to be enjoyed after the king's death, and the succession by female heirs thenceforward abrogated. —Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 709. Argentrê, Hist. de la Bret., i. xii.

hands; but although she is entitled to some respect on this score, it should be remembered that it was during her government that the system of persecution for religious opinions began, which afterwards caused much bloodshed in France. At the same time it must be observed that the nobles and the parliament kept a jealous and vigilant eye upon her proceedings, and that the political circumstances of the other states of Europe protected the kingdom from any attack; while it is not improbable that in other hands than hers the king's imprisonment might have been of shorter duration.

She was extremely superstitious, and carried her belief in judicial astrology (*a*) to a point even beyond that which was common among her sex during this period. Shortly before her death she perceived an extraordinary light in her chamber, and believing it to proceed from the fire-place she began to scold her attendants for making too large a fire. They replied, that it was the moon, and, on drawing her curtains,

(*a*) She took the celebrated Cornelius Agrippa into her service as physician and astrologer; and that eccentric man, who disliked her extremely, made himself acquainted with her prejudices and weakness only for the purpose of tormenting her. She consulted him as to the fate of the duke of Bourbon, when her animosity against him was the most violent, and Agrippa erected the constable's horoscope, and spitefully predicted all kinds of triumph and happiness for him. He was then dismissed, deprived of his pension, and took his revenge upon the duchess by writing a bitter satire, in which he compared her with Jezebel, and which compelled him to seek his safety in flight.

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she perceived through the windows a comet. This, she insisted, was a sign of her approaching dissolution, sent for her confessor, and prepared herself for death. The physicians assured her there was no danger, and that she was much better than she had been for some days before. She replied, she felt that, but she knew also that her hour was come, and, in fact, died within a short time afterwards. (*a*)

State of religion in France.

One of the most difficult and delicate subjects with which France had to deal, was the progress the reformed religion had made in his kingdom. The Sorbonne had, so long before as the year 1521, examined Luther's propositions, and condemned them as heretical. They had stated explicitly and in detail the several grounds upon which their censure was founded; a proceeding which might have entitled them to the praise of impartiality, if they had not at the same time betrayed the feelings which really actuated them, by a suggestion that the reformer's arrogance deserved to be punished by the flames, rather than corrected by arguments. It was in vain that the parlia-

Luther's propositions condemned by the Sorbonne.

(*a*) Clement Marot celebrated her in an elegy, which, if it was not meant to be ironical, is a curious example of the taste of the age in which it was written, and of the grief which expresses itself in puns and quibbles:

"Coignac s'en coigne en sa poitrine blême;
Romorentin la perte remémore:
Anjou fait joug: Angoulême est de même.
Amboise en boit une amertume extrême:
La maine en meine un lamentable bruit."

ment of Paris burnt Luther's works before the porch of Nôtre Dame; in vain that the bishops in convocation condemned Carlostadius; in vain that the faculty of theology censured the works of Melancthon. The doctrines of the reformation were not to be so put down; and they spread throughout the schools of France with a vigour which soon defied opposition, and which persecution could not check. While in Germany the partisans of the reformation were to be found in the great mass of the people, as well as among the princes; in France, its doctrines were principally received and encouraged by those enlightened minds which philosophy and cultivation had raised above their countrymen. The violent decrees of the Sorbonne were encountered by the irresistible spirit of ridicule; and the wit and learning of the reformers gained an easy and brilliant triumph over the stolid ignorance of the catholic theologians. CHAP. XIII.

Noel Bedier, who, dissatisfied with the homeliness of his paternal appellation chose to call himself Beda, was the syndic of the Sorbonne, and by his bigotry and intemperance, was in every respect qualified for the office he held. He kept up a violent and incessant attack upon all who ventured to differ from the dogmas of his faith, however trifling their points of dissent, advised that the doctor Merlin should be burnt for having written in favour of Origen, and would have visited the same fate upon the sincere and amiable Jaques le Fevre, bishop of Persecutions of the reformers.

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Etaples, for as trifling an offence, if Francis had not in person interfered to protect him, (*a*) and even then, disappointed of his victim, Beda ventured to attack the king himself.

While Francis remained in his own dominions, he had firmly resisted that spirit of persecution which would fain have found victims, in spite of the Sorbonne, and of the parliament who joined with them. When the battle of Pavia had thrown the reins of the government into the hands of the duchess d'Angoulême, the intolerant counsels of du Prat, seconding the intemperance of Beda, renewed the persecutions. Le Fevre was driven from Meaux, whither he had retired from the annoyance of his enemies. Other learned men who partook of his opinions, were compelled to seek their safety in flight; and this violence had the effect, which persecution always produces. The people had before been indifferent to a subject which they did not understand; but now some of them, pleased with the novelty of the reformed doctrines which were thus forced upon their notice, some convinced of their truth, and all rational persons, disgusted at the cruelty of the oppressors,

(*a*) The bishop of Etaples maintained that Mary, the sister of Martha and Lazarus, the Mary Magdalen from whom Jesus Christ cast out devils, and the woman who was taken in adultery, were three distinct persons. Beda, who knew little of the scriptures, and did not think that their study was necessary for a theologian, thought this doctrine so dangerous, that he who avowed it, deserved death: and for no other offence it was that he persecuted le Fevre.

began to entertain doubts which they would not otherwise have thought about. The violence of Beda was met with equal violence. In the city of Meaux Lutheranism first became popular in France. A woolcomber, named John le Clerc, professed the reformed doctrines so openly and so zealously; that he was brought to trial before the parliament, who sentenced him to be whipped in the streets of Paris, to be publicly branded at Meaux, and to be banished for ever from the kingdom. This severity, instead of repressing, added to the pertinacity of the reformer. Le Clerc, on his return to Meaux, destroyed some of the images of the saints, because he considered them idolatrous: he was again brought to judgment, and was then sentenced to be burnt, after having his hand and his nose cut off, and being tortured with hot irons. This sentence was carried into effect, and Le Clerc was the first martyr of the reformed religion in France, but not the last. Beda, grown furious by the first taste of human blood, pursued with rabid zeal all whom he suspected favouring the reformed religion; and the cruel bigotry of the regent and her council so eagerly seconded his persecutions, that religious dissensions were added to the other evils, which France had now to encounter.

Le Clerc is put to death.

The amiable and enlightened Marguerite de Valois endeavoured, by her mild persuasions, to check the detestable persecutions which she saw carrying on. She prevailed upon Francis to order, from his prison at Madrid, the suspension

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of proceedings against the alleged heretics; and extended her personal protection to the victims of fanatical violence, to many of whom she afforded an asylum, when her destiny afterwards led her to Navarre. Francis upon his return evinced a disposition to put an end to the proceedings against the accused. He found that Beda had been engaged in a controversy with Erasmus, and had endeavoured to procure a condemnation of his works by the Sorbonne, on the ground of their being heretical. Erasmus protested loudly and forcibly against so unjust an accusation, and the king favoured him, but Beda was the representative of too powerful a party to be so checked; and Francis, who felt the necessity of being on good terms with his clergy, because they might effectually assist or hinder him in raising pecuniary supplies from his people, found it expedient not to resist them. If he had merely forborne to interfere, and had prevented the fate to which the catholics devoted their victims, by withholding his sanction, although he might have deserved to be censured for a culpable weakness, he would have escaped the charge of cruelty and persecution to which his subsequent conduct exposed him. The zeal, however, of the protestants, excited by the violence of their opponents, broke out into excesses so unseemly, as afforded some pretext for the rigour with which they were treated, and Francis soon passed from a state of indifference to a stern determination to repress them by the most cruel punishments. Some of the lower

orders of the people had mutilated a statue of the Virgin which stood at the corner of the Rue des Rosiers and the Rue des Juifs, and the king marked his sense of the outrage, by causing a statue of silver of the same size to be made, which he placed with great solemnity, and in the presence of his assembled court, on the spot where the former statue had stood, for the purpose of expiating the profanation which had been committed. From this moment, either because his own superstitious feelings were excited, or because the people who were about him made use of it for their own ends, he evinced a severity against the Lutherans, which forms the least pardonable part of his character, and has stained his name for ever. Berquin, a harmless but zealous reformer, was cruelly put to death, and several of those who partook of his opinions, shared his fate. At Toulouse, twenty Lutherans were burnt at once, numbers were banished, and their goods confiscated; (*a*) and even the queen of Navarre was threatened with, and might have experienced the vengeance of the persecutors, but that Francis's affection for her stood in the way of the attempts of her daring enemies. (*b*).

There were, however, political reasons at this time, which put a stop to the proceedings in France against the reformers. The emperor, soon after the peace of Cambray, had visited

The emperor visits Italy and Germany.

(*a*) Le P. Daniel, t. viii. Theodore Beza.

(*b*) Brantome, Dames Illust.

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Italy in great pomp; had reconciled himself with the Pope, whom he affected to treat with a respect little compatible with his late conduct towards him; had taken Sforza into his favour again, promised him his niece, the princess of Denmark, in marriage, and reinvested him in his duchy of Milan; and, after restoring Alexander de' Medici to the government of Florence, had repaired to Germany, where he believed his presence had become necessary. There he found that the reformed religion had not only taken deep root, but that it had become a bond of union among the princes of the land. He had appointed a diet to be held at Spires, over which his brother presided in his name, where a decree was passed, enjoining the observation of the decree formerly made at Worms, and prohibiting the abolition of the mass, or any farther innovation in religion, until a general council, which was promised, should be held by the Pope. This decree was considered so unjust and intolerable by some of the independent powers of Germany, that they assembled immediately, signed a formal protest against it, and pledged themselves to refuse all succours to the emperor until it should be repealed. (*a*) From this proceeding

Diet of Spires. March 15, 1529.

Protest of the Lutherans.

(*a*) This protest was signed by John, Elector of Saxony, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, Ernest and Francis, dukes of Lunenbourg, Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt, the marquis of Brandenburg, and the deputies of the cities of Strasburg, Nuremburgh, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Windsheim, Meinengen, Lindau, Kempten, Heilbron, Isna, Weissemberg, Nordlingen, and St. Gal.

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they acquired the name of PROTESTANTS, which has since been indiscriminately applied to all who professed the reformed religion. They sent deputies to Charles, with a statement of their reasons for this proceeding, whom the emperor received at Piacenza, and having listened to their remonstrance, dismissed them, without any other reply, than a stern menace, that as he had settled the affairs of Italy, he should know how to deal with those of Germany. (*a*) He repaired to Augsburg in the following year, where a diet was held, at which the protestant princes employed Melancthon to draw up the celebrated profession of their faith, known by the name of the confession of Augsburg, which, after considerable discussion, was signed by the chiefs of the party, and delivered to the emperor. Charles, who was convinced that he should not succeed in withdrawing the protestants from the opinions they had avowed, prepared for a rupture, which he believed might ensue, and with this view formed a closer alliance with the catholic princes; renewed the decree of Spires; and on the 19th of November terminated the diet by a second decree, which forbade the celebration of any other than the catholic religion, under pain of forfeiture, and of being rendered incapable of acting as judges, or appearing as parties, in the imperial chamber, then the supreme court of judicature in Europe. (*b*)

Confession of Augsburg.

(*a*) Sleidan, Comment. l. vii.

(*b*) Sleidan, l. vii. Robertson's Charles V., l. v.

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League of Smalkalden.

The protestant princes, convinced by the emperor's proceedings, that it was necessary to provide for their own safety, assembled at Smalkalden, where they entered into a league of mutual defence, and resolved to apply to the kings of England and France for their assistance.

Francis joins the league.

Francis, who had forborne to take any part in the discussions between Charles and his subjects in Germany, eagerly accepted this proposition, and sent Langei into Germany, where he effected a league with the confederates of Smalkalden, by which he undertook to assist them in their defence against the emperor's attack; but as he had no immediate cause of quarrel with Charles, and was desirous for the present to avoid a war, it was agreed that his treaty should remain secret. The king of England too acceded to the league, furnished the protestants with a supply of money, and when afterwards the Pope had annulled the sentence of his divorce, he openly protected them.

Francis regulates the finances, and provides an army.

Six years were occupied with the events which have been related, and during the whole of them Francis, though at peace with the emperor, had been preparing for that war which he knew was inevitable. He had employed the leisure which he had obtained in restoring the finances of his country to a regular system, and in raising and disciplining a body of troops, which would enable him not only to defy aggression, but to punish any wrong which his enemies might venture to offer him. His league with the protes-

tants, and the confirmation of his alliance with England, had strengthened his foreign relations. The states of Italy had grown wise by their late disasters, and evinced little disposition to engage again in a war. There was indeed another power in Europe, the influence of which, if properly applied, might have turned the balance in favour of whichever side it joined. This was the Ottoman state. All the strongest prejudices of the people were directly opposed to an alliance with a nation whose difference in religious faith had hitherto produced an invincible detestation of their very name throughout Christendom; but the time had arrived when the light of reason and the spirit of enquiry were rapidly dissipating prejudices. Things were no longer considered venerable and inviolable for their names alone, and the enforced toleration of Lutheranism had prepared the way for considering with temper, if not with respect, opinions on matters of religion, which were at variance with what had before been considered infallible. Charles had himself been obliged to acknowledge the power of the protestants in Germany, in whom he found foes, such as he had never before encountered—men whose earnestness no opposition could tire—whose devotion to the cause they had espoused, money could not corrupt—and whose zeal persecution could not tame. It was but one step further to form an alliance with the Turks, and Francis, good catholic as he was, was ready to take that step rather than succumb to the em-

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peror, whose personal character he despised as much as he had reason to dislike him.

The Turks invade Hungary.

Solyman made an irruption into Hungary, and Charles called upon Francis to assist him in repelling this common enemy of their faith, and to send him his fleet and his army for that purpose. Francis replied somewhat equivocally. He said he could not spare his fleet, because it was necessary for his own defence, but that he was ready to march with his army; and as the emperor's own power would suffice for the defence of Hungary, he offered to repair to Italy, and protect it. Charles refused so dangerous a proposition, and accused Francis of being in league with Solyman, an imputation, which at that period at least, he did not deserve. The emperor took the field for the first time in person; Solyman was compelled to retreat without, however, coming to an engagement; and Charles returned to enjoy his easy triumph, and to have a second interview with the Pope at Bologna.

Interview between Francis and Henry, at Boulogne, Oct. 21, 1532.

Previous to this Francis and Henry VIII. had met at Boulogne, where the English king had stated his discontent at the Pope's conduct, and it had been settled that French ambassadors should proceed to Bologna. They found it impossible to destroy the emperor's influence with the timid Clement; but they effectually neutralized it by proposing a marriage between the Pope's niece, Catherine de' Medici, and Henry, duke of Orleans, Francis's second son, which was eagerly accepted by the pontiff, and, fatally for France,

carried into effect, notwithstanding the efforts of the emperor to prevent it. (*a*) Clement was so desirous of effecting this marriage, that he consented to have an interview with Francis, at Marseilles, whither he brought his niece, and where he performed in person the marriage ceremony. The pontiff and the king held frequent secret conferences, the object of which was to revive Francis's hopes of yet recovering his Italian possessions, by means of Clement's influence, which was wholly inefficient for any such purpose; and the most important result of the negociation was, that the ill-concealed animosity which existed between the king and the emperor, was raised higher than before.

Interview between the king and the Pope at Marseilles, Oct. 1533. Marriage of the dauphin and Catherine de' Medici.

(*a*) Charles offered to unite Catherine with the duke of Milan, who would have done any thing at his bidding; but Clement answered that it was too late.

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*Affairs of Germany—Death of Clement VII.—Election of Paul III.—Assassination of Merveille—Francis determines to attack the Milanese—The Emperor's expedition to Africa—Barbarossa—Francis demands a passage through Savoy, which is refused—Brion invades Savoy—Death of Sforza—Francis requests the investiture of the Milanese for the Duke of Orleans, which the Emperor promises—Brion's campaign—The Emperor makes an insulting speech at Rome against Francis, which he afterwards qualifies—Francis's reply—The Cardinal de Lorraine's unsuccessful Negociation with the Emperor—Charles calumniates Francis with the European potentates—Calvin—Persecution of the Protestants in France—The effect of those cruelties—Langei's negociations in Germany—Francis's preparations for defence.*

## CHAPTER XIV.

Affairs of Germany.

THE protestants of Germany had, for a short time, laid aside their animosity against the emperor and his catholic partisans; but no sooner was the Turk repulsed than a quarrel between Ferdinand, Charles's brother, who had procured himself to be elected king of the Romans, and the duke of Wirtemberg, renewed their open disputes. The confederates of Smalkalden joined the duke's side, and, after a sharp contest reinstated him in the possessions of which Ferdinand had deprived him, when a pacification was effected, by which Ferdinand withdrew his unjust pretensions, and renounced for the future all right to interfere with the religious opinions or practices of the protestants. Francis had been applied to in the beginning of this contest to aid the leaguers, and had refused, under the pretext that he could not do so without violating the treaty of Cambray. Langei, however, who was his minister in Germany, devised an expedient for assisting the duke's party without committing his master; and, as money was what they most wanted, he lent them a hundred and twenty thousand crowns on the security of the county of Montbelliard. Charles, who was not to be deluded by so shallow an artifice into a belief that Francis would remain at peace with

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him any longer than his interest or his necessities might prompt, lost no opportunity of strengthening his forces, but for the present he offered no open indication of hostility. (*a*)

1532. Death of Clement VII.

On the 4th of October, in this year, Clement VII. died at Rome. He was aware of his approaching dissolution some days before it took place, and not only made preparations for his funeral ceremonies, but endeavoured to influence the college of cardinals in their choice of his successor. In compliance with his request, or by reason of his intrigues, Alessandro Farnese was unanimously elected Pope, to the satisfaction of the cardinals, who believed that his age (he was then sixty-seven) would soon occasion another vacancy, and of the Roman people, who were delighted at again seeing one of their countrymen on the pontifical throne. The new Pope took the title of Paul III.

Election of Paul III.

1533. Assassination of Merveille.

An incident soon after took place, which brought the mutual discontent of Francis and the emperor to an open rupture. Sforza, who, notwithstanding his obligations to Charles, bore the imperial yoke with great impatience, had evinced a strong desire to enter into a friendly connexion with Francis, and had solicited that a properly accredited minister might be sent to his court. As, however, it had not been the custom to send a French ambassador to Milan, and as to adopt such a proceeding now, for the first time, would have been to give the em-

(*a*) Du Bellay, l. iv. Sleidan. Comment. l. ix.

peror good ground for suspicion, it was determined, that Merveille, a Milanese by birth, and who had made a large fortune in France, which he had gone to spend at Milan, should be employed as resident at Sforza's court with letters of credence, which, however, were only to be made public if occasion should require. A second set of papers, purporting merely to recommend him as an individual deserving of the duke's favour were prepared, and these Merveille openly delivered. The emperor, who was informed of what had taken place, remonstrated with Sforza upon the duplicity of his conduct, and threatened him with punishment. Sforza, to avert his anger, assured him, that Merveille held no diplomatic character, and, in proof of his assertion, transmitted Francis's letters of recommendation, in which the envoy was treated as a private person. Charles, who believed this to be but a flimsy contrivance, still expressed his doubts. Sforza promised to remove them, and kept his promise by an instance of the basest perfidy. Castiglione, one of the duke's gentlemen, fastened a quarrel upon Merveille in the open streets; an affray ensued between them, which their servants on either side joined, and in which ultimately Castiglione was killed. Merveille was immediately thrown into prison, his servants were examined, and some of them put to the torture. A sentence was instantly pronounced against him, and before he could offer any defence, or

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claim the immunity with which his character invested him, the officers of justice visited him by night, and beheaded him in his dungeon.

Francis was filled with indignation at this odious violation of the most sacred rights. But, before he prepared to revenge it, he wrote to the emperor and all the princes of Europe a full explanation of the circumstances. Charles, at first, affected to believe that Sforza had done no more than justice upon a troublesome person, who was always caballing and intriguing in his court, (which was the pretext by which Sforza coloured his death); and, when Velly, the king's ambassador to Spain, produced a letter in Sforza's handwriting, in which he expressly recognised Merveille as an ambassador, the emperor replied coldly, "it was an affair that did not concern him." At the same time, by way of rewarding Sforza for the perpetration of the infamous crime to which he had prompted him, he sent to Flanders for his niece, the princess of Denmark, and gave her to him in marriage.

Francis determines to attack the Milanese.

Francis, finding that all other hope of redress was vain, immediately resolved to attack Sforza, although he knew that his doing so must lead to a war with the emperor. Upon this occasion his cause of quarrel was just, and, instructed by former failures, he made his preparations with caution and prudence.

The emperor's expedition to Africa.

Charles had about this time engaged in an expedition, which terminated greatly to his advantage, and enhanced his personal reputation as

a warrior. The coast of Africa had been long infested by pirates, who, growing by rapid degrees bolder and more powerful, had disturbed the commerce of the Mediterranean, and committed frequent depredations upon its shores. Two of the most celebrated of these corsairs were known by the appellation of Barbarossa. Their real names were Horuc and Hayradin, the sons of a renegade, who carried on the humble trade of a potter in the isle of Lesbos. They each possessed great personal strength and a fierce courage, unchecked by any feelings of human pity. With these qualifications, the only ones necessary to their success in the pursuit they had chosen, they became corsairs at an early age; having possessed themselves of a small brigantine, they soon afterwards by their valour and reputation so increased their strength, that they commanded a fleet of twelve galleys, well armed, and manned with the ablest and most desperate spirits. The sovereign of Algiers solicited their aid in surprising the Spanish fort of Oran, and the pirates having performed this task turned their arms against their new ally so effectually as to make themselves masters of his kingdom. Horuc, the elder brother, established himself on the throne, attacked and dispossessed the king of Tremecen, and gained such an acquisition of power, and made so dangerous a use of it by attacking the European ships and coast, that Charles had found it necessary in the early part of his reign to send against him a force to check his depredations.

Barbarossa.

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In the fight which ensued Horuc was slain; and Hayradin succeeded him in the government of Algiers. With no less courage than his brother, he possessed greater intellectual power, and employed himself in strengthening his dominions, and recruiting his forces by sea and land. The kingdom of Tunis became a prey to intestine commotion, occasioned by the contests of the sons of the late king, nearly all of whom had been put to death by Muley Hassan, the youngest. Alraschid, one of them, escaped his sanguinary designs, and implored the succour of Hayradin Barbarossa. The pirate-king readily granted his request, marched with him to Tunis, drove out Muley Hassan, and seated himself on the throne he had thus acquired, while he effectually silenced Alraschid's claims by having him poisoned. Muley Hassan carried the tale of his wrongs to Charles, and so excited his ambition by the prospect which he presented, of a victory over the tyrant, whose name was a terror to Europe, that Charles determined on an expedition against him, and resolved also to lead his own army in person. He landed in Africa with an army of thirty thousand men, took the fort of the Goletta, by which he got possession of Barbarossa's fleet and arsenal, defeated him in a pitched battle before Tunis, took that city, annihilated the power of Barbarossa, and compelled him to fly, and ultimately re-established Muley Hassan in his dominions as his tributary, retaining for himself the important fortress of the Goletta, and all the sea-ports of the

kingdom. In little more than two months Charles had performed this expedition, which consisted of a series of victories won, however, not without peril and exertion. His vanity was flattered, and his reputation greatly increased by his success. He had released from the Barbary states upwards of twenty thousand christian slaves, whom he clothed and furnished with the means of returning to their several homes, and had acquired for himself the character of the terrible and victorious foe of the infidels. (*a*)

Francis demands a passage through Savoy.

Francis, to whose cause of complaint against the emperor was now added the bitterness which his jealousy of his rival's triumph was too well calculated to occasion, had employed the period of his absence in raising troops for the war he had determined on. Merveille's murder was cause sufficient for his attacking Sforza. Charles had however placed in his way an obstacle, by means of the duke of Savoy, which must be removed before he could reach the object of his vengeance. The duke's friendly dispositions towards Francis had been more than questionable, even during the life of the duchess d'Angoulême; (*b*) on her death his hostility had openly manifested itself; he had sent his son to the emperor's court, and had ac-

(*a*) Robertson's Charles V. Mezeray.

(*b*) He had assisted Bourbon in raising that army in Germany, which he brought up to the battle of Pavia, and which mainly contributed to its loss.

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cepted his friendship and alliance. Francis on the other hand had assisted the city of Geneva and the canton of Berne in their attempts to shake off the duke's domination, and the contest ended by the independence of those states being fully established. When the president Poyet went therefore to the duke of Savoy to demand a free passage for the French army through his dominions, the duke unhesitatingly refused. He immediately applied to the emperor for assistance against the attack, which he had good reason to expect would ensue, and offered to exchange with him, for territories of equal value in Charles's dominions, the city of Geneva, which he had just lost, and his county of Nice, and other frontier possessions which would afford Charles an easy entrance into France whenever he might be disposed to avail himself of it. As soon as Francis learnt this proceeding he sent a declaration of war to the duke, and ordered the admiral Brion to follow it up by marching his force into Savoy. The admiral took Chambery, and proceeded unresisted to the district of Tarento, when the news which arrived of the death of Sforza occasioned a pause in his proceedings.

The duke refuses, and joins the emperor.

Brion invades Savoy.

Oct. 1535. Death of Sforza.

Francis requests the investiture of the Milanese for the duke of Orleans.

The principal motive which had induced Francis to commence hostilities was now removed. The cause of his quarrel was buried in the grave of Sforza, and as that duke had died without children, Francis flattered himself that his claims to the duchy of Milan were placed in a

shape so indisputable that the emperor could not refuse to recognise them. He commissioned Velly, as his ambassador to Charles, to state his pretensions and his wishes, and to solicit the emperor's consent to his taking possession of Milan. The emperor had, at the same moment that he learnt the death of Sforza, determined not to part with Milan, which even in Sforza's hands had been his; but it was necessary to conceal his project in order to insure its success. The states of Italy, although they would willingly have seen Milan neither under the dominion of France nor of Spain, would have preferred the former to the latter, the recent triumph of Charles having inspired them with a common fear of his power and his ambition. For this reason the Pope enforced Francis's request by his persuasions, and the emperor, determined to give no satisfactory answer, amused the ambassador by affected doubts and hesitation, the true object of which the straight forward honesty of Velly could not penetrate, and which he in vain endeavoured to satisfy and explain. Charles, who knew Francis's unconquerable desire to regain the Milanese, played upon that weakness, and raised hopes, which he never meant to satisfy, for the mere purpose of deluding him. (*a*) He affected to entertain his proposals, and referred Velly to Granvelle, the imperial chancellor, for the pur-

The emperor promises the investiture, and evades the performance of his promise.

(*a*) "Il sçeut si bien s'en servir comme d'un leurre pour l'amuser, et pour le mener, s'il faut ainsi dire, en lesse presque tout le reste de sa vie."—Mezeray.

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pose of arranging the terms on which the investiture should take place. As Francis claimed through his wife, he had requested that his second son, the duke of Orleans, should be put in possession of it: this Granvelle said the emperor did not approve of, and would prefer giving it to the third son, the duke d'Angoulême. He at the same time requested that the former prince might accompany him in an expedition he meditated against Algiers, which he promised to make more glorious than his former one against Tunis. If he had not been perfectly assured that Francis would consent to neither of these propositions, they would, in all probability, never have been made. But the main points for which the emperor stipulated, and on which alone Granvelle said he would consent to the investiture, were, that Francis should heartily and earnestly engage with him in a war against the Turks; that he should exert himself for the extirpation of heresy from Europe, and for the reconciliation of all Christian princes to the holy catholic faith, particularly the king of England, who had now openly disclaimed the Pope's supremacy; and that a general pacification should be effected by their joint means. Francis was willing to engage for all these latter particulars; but he urged the justice of his second son's claim to his mother's rights on Milan, in preference to his brother's, and he declined again to part with either of his children, because he knew that to do so would in effect be

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giving them as hostages to the emperor, with whose former treatment of the princes he had too good reason to be dissatisfied. In the mean time Charles had assembled a strong fleet in the port of Genoa, which he placed under the care of Andrea Doria, and had commissioned Ferdinand Gonzagua, the viceroy of Naples, to raise regiments of light cavalry in Italy, while his officers transported his artillery from Germany, and levies were made for him in the Low Countries. In reply to Velly's inquiries respecting these suspicious preparations, Charles said the fleet was destined for the meditated attack on the Turks, and that the army was collected solely with a view of keeping in awe the Italian states, who might otherwise attempt to traverse his plans for putting Francis in possession of the duchy of Milan.

Charles collects a large force.

Francis endured all these baffling delays with more patience than he would perhaps have manifested, but that the season of the year forbade any hostile operations. His army remained in winter quarters in Savoy; but as the season advanced in which they might be actively employed, he directed Velly to obtain the emperor's decisive answer before the end of January. That period having arrived, and being past, he gave orders to Brion to resume his attack. Filippo Torniello and Giovanni Medequin hastened to the Pas de Suze to dispute his passage, but the movements of his army had been so rapid, that on their arrival they found it had been com-

Brion's campaign in Savoy.

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pletely transported across the mountain-frontier. Antonio da Leyva, who, as commander of the army of the league, which had been entered into for the defence of the Milanese, affected to take no part in the quarrel between the king of France and the duke of Savoy, made his appearance merely for the purpose, as he announced, of guarding the imperial territories. Francis, who knew that he acted under the direct orders of the emperor, and that Charles had promised to assist the duke of Savoy, strictly enjoined Brion not to be drawn into an encounter with the wily Spaniard. His presence however was prejudicial; he visited Turin, and thinking it not strong enough to be maintained against the French, he advised the duke to withdraw to Verceil, which he did, having first removed all his valuables, and Turin was surrendered on the 3d of April. Brion's troops would willingly have come to an engagement with da Leyva's army, but the admiral, although he had great difficulty in restraining the impetuosity of his German soldiers under the count Furstemberg, strictly adhered to the king's command. (*a*)

Turin is taken.

The negociations respecting the promised investiture of the Milanese were however still continued; but now the emperor took a new tone, and, as he said he had agreed to comply with the king's request, he required that Piedmont should be evacuated, and the admiral sent to him with full powers finally to arrange a trea-

(*a*) Mezeray. Gaillard, l. iv. c. 2.

ty. Velly, who was not yet cured of trusting to the emperor's promises, advised Francis to comply; but the king, who knew Charles's preparations, and who gave him no credit for the sincerity of his professions, refused to quit Piedmont. At the same time, in order to meet the emperor's avowed object, he sent to him the cardinal de Lorraine, as his plenipotentiary, while he ordered the admiral to suspend hostilities until the result of the cardinal's journey should be known. Charles had promised his final answer at Naples; he then deferred it till he should be at Gaeta; and at Gaeta he assured the ambassadors he would give it them at Rome.

He did in fact give them his reply at Rome, but he did it in terms the most painful for them to hear, and to the last degree insulting as respected the king. He at once threw off the mask, and convinced the whole world, not only that he was disposed for war, but that he was willing to provoke it. (*a*)

The emperor arrived in Rome on the 6th of April. Velly followed him closely, in expectation of the answer, which had been so often promised, and so often postponed. He found

(*a*) A very trivial incident which happened at this time, furnished the superstitious with grounds for presaging the contests that were about to ensue. In order to give more extensive view and greater space to the palace that was destined for the emperor's residence at Rome, several old buildings were destroyed, and, among others, the remains of an ancient temple which had been dedicated to Peace.—Belcar., l. xx.

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there the bishop of Macon, the French ambassador to the Pope, with whom he conferred, and with whom he united his efforts to attach the Pope to their monarch's interest. The emperor and his ministers had so often, and so explicitly promised to confer the investiture of Milan on the duke of Orleans, that the ambassadors would not permit themselves to doubt the earnestness of his intentions respecting it, and they imagined that Charles had only procrastinated, in order to flatter the Pope with the idea that he had brought about the mediation, and to obtain his holiness's sanction to the measure.

The Pope told the French ambassadors that he believed the emperor was amusing himself at their expense, and that the duke of Orleans would never obtain the investiture they sought for him. Velly, who ascribed this notion to the Pope's ignorance of the emperor's expressed intentions, did not attempt to undeceive him, but merely entreated him to do all in his power to encourage the emperor's peaceable disposition.

The sequel however proved that his holiness's conjecture was correct, and that the ambassador was the dupe. The emperor had ever since his arrival in Rome, assumed a much higher tone than before. He complained more loudly of the invasion of Piedmont, and of Brion's not having been sent to him as he had requested. He expressed openly his wish that Milan should be given to the duke d'Angoulême instead of

the duke of Orleans, and said that he should not decide farther on any thing without the consent of the Pope and the other Italian powers. Velly, who then for the first time began to suspect Charles's real drift, ventured to speak to him with firmness, and plainly reminded him of his promises. Charles replied, that he had promised, under conditions to which Francis would never consent, and which he could not fulfil even if he were inclined. "Why then," asked the ambassador, "did you prescribe them?" The emperor, thus hardly pressed, affected to be offended at Velly's want of respect, (the common excuse of great people who are in the wrong,) and said, impatiently, "Let me ask you, since you are so urgent, whether you have full power now to conclude the treaty." Velly confessed that he had not. "Well then," retorted Charles, "what is it that you require me to do?" and turning towards the assembly with that ingenious duplicity to which he often resorted, he continued, "You see which of us is amusing the other with vain words."

The emperor makes a violent and insulting speech at Rome against France.

Although this extraordinary behaviour had excited Velly's profound distrust; he was not prepared for the scene which was to ensue on the following day. He went in company with the bishop of Macon to wait upon the emperor, who received the bishop very cordially, and inquired of Velly in an ungracious tone whether he had any thing new to impart to him, and which he knew was utterly impossible. On Velly's re-

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plying in the negative, he rejoined, "Then, you are unacquainted with your master's final determination? Follow me to the Pope, and you shall there hear mine."

The Venetian ambassadors, who arrived at the same moment, were bidden to accompany them. They entered the consistory, where the assembled cardinals awaited the Pope. His holiness soon after appeared, accompanied by his ministers, and followed by a numerous court. The emperor then said, he had some subjects of the utmost importance to speak of in the presence of the holy conclave, upon which the Pope would have desired all present, except the cardinals, to leave the room; but the emperor said, that what he had to say he wished to be heard by every one. He then commenced a most violent harangue against the king and the French nation generally. He recapitulated the whole history of the quarrels between himself and Francis; enumerated all their treaties, which he said had been concluded by him in a spirit of charity and forbearance, and had been broken through the king's want of faith. He vaunted his own conduct as irreproachable, and denounced Francis's as always inexcusable. Sforza, he said, was right to cut off the head of Merveille, and Francis was wrong in attempting to revenge the death of his minister, and had merely resorted to it as a pretext for violating the treaty of Cambray. He concluded, by haughtily proposing to his rival the choice of three measures, either to accept

the Milanese for the duke d'Angoulême, on the terms which had been proposed, or to end their differences by a private combat, or to engage in a war. If Francis would accept the challenge he offered to fight in his shirt with sword or dagger; but he stipulated, that, on the one side, the duchy of Milan, and, on the other, the province of Burgundy, should belong to the conqueror. If the proposal of war should be accepted, he swore never to lay down his arms till either he or his rival were reduced to a level with the poorest private gentleman in Europe. In this part of his speech he indecently and unjustly insulted the French chivalry. "If I had no better soldiers," said he, "I would go immediately, with my hands bound, and with a halter round my neck, to implore my enemy's mercy." He concluded, by exhorting the Pope, the holy college, the princes and states of Italy, and all the Christian sovereigns, to unite with him against Francis, whom he reproachfully called the ally of the infidels, and the disturber of the peace of Christendom.

This violent and unexpected attack, which was the more insulting and opprobrious, from the place in which the emperor had chosen to make it, was also to the last degree unfair and ungenerous, because Francis was not present; and his ministers were so little prepared for it, that they did not dare to commit their master's interests by such a reply as their indignant feelings would have prompted. It had evidently been long

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planned, and the speech had been written for the occasion, for Charles was observed, while speaking, to glance his eye from time to time on a paper which he held in his hand. The Pope made a vague and temporizing speech, whereby he pledged himself to preserve a neutrality, and expressed a desire for peace, which might perhaps be sincere. The bishop of Macon, who, as ambassador to the Pope, ought to have replied to the emperor, excused himself, under pretence that the speech had been delivered in Spanish, a language with which he was so little acquainted, that the greater part of it was unintelligible to him. Velly requested permission to speak, but Charles, to whom he was ambassador, peremptorily refused, saying, he would give him his discourse in writing, and that Velly might answer it at his leisure. At the breaking up of the meeting, the emperor's ministers, who saw the indignation which had been excited in the minds of the French ambassadors, offered some apologies for what had just passed, and assured them, that the emperor had neither meant to quarrel with Francis, nor to hurt their feelings, although in the excitement of the moment he had been betrayed into a warmth of expression which they regretted. The ambassadors could make no reply to this unmeaning statement, but retired to their residence.

The same evening the Pope sent to the bishop of Macon, requesting to speak with him before he wrote to the king, and when he saw him on the

following day in company with Velly, he besought them not to inflame the animosity of Francis, nor destroy the hardly cemented peace of Europe by too faithful a report of the emperor's intemperate speech, which he strongly reprobated. The ambassadors replied, that the scene had been too public for them to disguise any part of it, and that their master would inevitably hear from other quarters whatever they might conceal from him. They promised, however, to discharge their duty with all possible circumspection. The displeasure of the Pope was apparently sincere, for after a private interview which he had with the emperor, who arrived at this moment to take his leave, Charles expressed his willingness to give the French ambassadors an explanation of those parts of his speech which had been most offensive. It was principally on the subject of the duel that the ambassadors begged him to explain himself, offering to answer that Francis would accept it. The emperor said, that as his harangue had been public, it was right that his explanation should be equally so. They were now no longer in the consistory, but the assembly was almost as numerous as that of the preceding day, interest or curiosity having attracted an immense crowd to the Pope's palace. The emperor then, addressing himself to the persons present, and speaking in a loud voice, declared, that he could not refuse the ambassadors the explanation they had demanded of the speech he had before delivered in the Consistory. He complained

Charles qualifies and explains his speech.

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that many of his auditors had maliciously interpreted his discourse, protested that he had not intended the slightest reproach to the king, his brother; but that he had only attempted to justify himself. With respect to the challenge, he denied that he had offered, or intended to offer one, because such a proceeding would, he said, have testified a want of respect towards the Pope, in whose presence he had spoken. He, however, repeated his three offers, but in a much milder tone than he had before used. He proposed a war before he mentioned the duel, and suggested the latter merely as an alternative which might spare the effusion of blood, and be less favourable to the spread of heresy and infidelity than a war, of which he concluded by drawing a frightful picture.

The Pope loudly applauded this equivocal speech, which was delivered in Italian, and exhorted the French ambassadors to concur in the pacific views of the emperor. They replied, that the preservation of peace depended chiefly on the Pope's neutrality, which he thereupon promised strictly to observe. The emperor rose to take his leave, when Velly respectfully but earnestly requested he would do him the justice to say whether he had or had not promised to confer the duchy of Milan on the French king's son. Charles, somewhat disconcerted at the irresistible earnestness of Velly's manner, paused for a moment, and then replied, it was true that he had made this promise, but it was

under conditions which had not been fulfilled; and that this failure, together with Francis's invasion of the territory of the duke of Savoy, had annulled the promise. He added, that he objected to the Milanese being vested in the duke of Orleans; because that prince, in right of his wife, had pretensions to certain Italian states, which might make his introduction into that duchy dangerous to the other powers; and that, moreover, he would be immediately dependant on his father, while the duke d'Angoulême, on the other hand, as in receiving the Milanese he was to marry a niece of the emperor, would owe equal allegiance and fidelity to both powers. Velly endeavoured to reason against this determination, but was interrupted by the emperor, who, turning to the Pope, said, with a sarcastic smile, "Is it not extraordinary that I am obliged to sue the king of France, that he will condescend to accept the Milanese for one of his sons? What kindred can they claim with me? They are not the children of my sister Eleanora; and if they were, have I not the right to choose on which of them I shall confer this valuable present?" An observation which would have been unanswerable, but that it assumed that to be a gift, which was in fact merely the recognition of a just claim. The emperor then took his leave, and soon afterwards departed from Rome.

The French ambassadors requested to be furnished with the copy of the speech which had been promised to them, but were informed by

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the imperial ministers, that it had been sent directly to Leidekerke, the emperor's ambassador in France, who had instructions to deliver it to the king in person. A paper, purporting to be the speech, was, in fact, delivered by that minister, but it was very much moderated.

Francis's reply.

The French ambassadors, won by the Pope's entreaties, reported Charles's speech somewhat less offensively than he had delivered it, and qualified it by incorporating with it the explanations he had given. Francis's reply being framed upon these documents, was extremely temperate. He restricted himself to a simple answer on the several points urged by the emperor, and this without bitterness, recrimination, or insult. Respecting the treaty of Madrid, he repeated what he had been induced, or had induced himself, to believe; that all engagements contracted in prison were void, and that the treaty of Cambray, which he alleged to be unjust, was for the same reason invalid. As to the offer of the duel, he answered with a subterfuge, which savoured rather of the advice of his ministers than of his own impetuous feelings, that he would accept it with pleasure, if he could thereby spare the waste of his people's blood: but he added, he did not consider himself challenged by the emperor, nor did he challenge him. This answer was addressed to the Pope, to the sacred college, to the ministers of foreign powers resident at Rome, and to all those who had heard the emperor's harangue. Upon Charles, who had formed his plans, it of

course produced no effect; but the Pope, who saw more closely than ever the necessity of keeping aloof from the quarrels which were likely to ensue, issued a bull, in which he declared his individual neutrality. (*a*)

The cardinal de Lorraine is sent to the emperor.

As Francis had determined to give the emperor no cause for the war which the latter was too clearly seeking, he determined that the cardinal of Lorraine should proceed on his mission. The prelate accordingly set out, and arriving in Savoy, he delivered to Brion the king's orders to pause in his campaign. He had an interview at about the same time with da Leyva, to whom he communicated those orders, and it was mutually agreed between the Spanish and the French general that they should for the present rest upon their arms. The cardinal then proceeded, under an escort which da Leyva furnished him, to Sienna, where the emperor was. He began the negociation by reminding him of his promise; and Charles replied, that he promised only under certain conditions, some of which Francis had broken by making war on his ally, the duke of Savoy, and none of which he had duly fulfilled. He however repeated that he was ready to perform his promise in favour of the duke d'Angoulême, and to give him one of his nieces in marriage. The cardinal replied, that his powers extended only to the investiture of the duke of Orleans,

His interview and unsuccessful negociation with Charles.

(*a*) Du Bellay, l. v. Belcar., l. xxi.

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and that if the emperor persisted in refusing that, his further errand was to the court of Rome, to explain to the Pope the offers of the king, and Charles's reply. The emperor upon this bade him farewell, observing merely that he should be glad to see him on his return from Rome. The cardinal then dispatched couriers with letters for Francis, giving him an account of his short and unsuccessful negociation, and sent others to Brion, advising him to keep on his guard, and not to rely on any chance of peace. Brion promptly acted on this suggestion, and strengthened his position.

Repairs to Rome.

The cardinal then hastened to Rome, where he placed the conduct of Francis in its true light, and exposed the ill faith of the emperor. The Pope, who, if he was convinced of the justice of the cardinal's representations, was determined not on that account to engage in hostilities, contented himself with sending cardinal legates to the king and to the emperor, charged with his feeble exhortations that they should remain at peace.

Has a second interview.

On his return, the cardinal de Lorraine had another interview with Charles, in which he remonstrated with passionate eloquence on the injustice of his proceedings, the evils which must result from them, and the probability that some of those evils might fall on the emperor's own head. Charles was moved, and replied to the cardinal's prophetic discourse by a hypocritical protest that he was desirous of averting by a peace the realization of the dis-

tressing picture which the cardinal drew; but by this time all his preparations were complete, the time was come at which he thought he could effectually enter upon his long meditated attack, and his actions soon manifested his true design, beyond the possibility of doubt.

Charles calumniates Francis with the European potentates.

Not content with preparing a large armed force for the purpose of acting against Francis, Charles had endeavoured to injure him in the opinion of all the European potentates. He had sent an envoy to the king of England with a proposition for renewing their old amity: he offered to pass over all the cause of complaint which arose out of his aunt's treatment, and at the same time he sent Henry a copy of the speech he had made against Francis in the consistory at Rome. The English monarch made a very cold and evasive reply. He said he had an account to receive from the emperor respecting some calumnious and insulting expressions he had used respecting him; that the speech he had sent him was, he was informed, incorrect; and that he would never sanction his ambitious designs, which had now become apparent, on Francis's dominions. At the same time he renewed his friendly relations with Francis, and a treaty was entered into for the marriage of the princess Elizabeth, then an infant, with the young duke d'Angoulême. (*a*)

While the doctrines of Luther had been

(*a*) Du Bellay, l. v.

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Progress of the reformation in France.

making their way neither slowly nor silently in Germany, the reformation of the established religion of France, which had been commenced, was aided in its progress more by the violence of its enemies than by the open exertions of its partisans. Its first steps were so inconsiderable, and the conduct of those who favoured it so moderate, that but for the persecution it encountered, there seems great reason for believing that it would never have occasioned the odious crimes which were perpetrated in the reign of Francis, nor the more detestable massacres which deluged the country with blood in those that ensued. The name of Calvin is as inseparably connected with the reformation in France, as Luther's with that of Germany, and it therefore becomes necessary to consider the history and character of an individual who exercised so powerful an influence over the times in which he lived, and even in those which followed his death.

Calvin.

Jean Cauvin, or, as he is now more commonly called, Calvin, (*a*) was born at Noyon, in Picardy, in 1509. His father had carried on the trade of a cooper at Pont L'Evesque, and afterwards held the office of Procureur Fiscal to the Bishop of Noyon. His mother, Jeanne le Franc,

(*a*) He was generally known, after he had attained a certain degree of celebrity, by the latinized appellation of Calvinus, which he prefixed to his works; and that name being re-adopted into his native language, his paternal one was forgotten, and he was called in France as elsewhere, Calvin.

was the daughter of an innkeeper at Cambrai. Being intended by his parents for the clerical profession, he was appointed to the service of the chapel of Nôtre Dame de la Gesine, in the cathedral of Noyon, in the twelfth year of his age, and at sixteen years old he had the curacy of Marteville given to him, which he exchanged two years afterwards, for that of Pont L'Evesque, in which latter place he remained about five years. Although by one of those abuses which then, and for a long time subsequently, prevailed in the discipline of the Romish church, he thus exercised the functions of a clergyman, he was in fact never ordained a priest. His education was not interrupted by the charges which he held; he was a student at the colleges of La Marche and Montaign, at Paris, and went through a course of civil law at Orleans, under Pierre de L'Estoile, and at Bourges under the celebrated Alciat. In the latter university, it is said, that Melchior Wolmar, a German, who was professor of Greek there, first infused into him the principles of reformation in matters of religion, which Luther had promulgated. Bourges being situated in the duchy of Berry, the revenues of which Francis had given to his sister Margaret, she thus became the patroness of the college, and was satisfied with filling the professorships with men whose acquirements qualified them for their several posts, without inquiring into the orthodoxy of their religious opinions. Calvin imbibed the lessons of Wolmar eagerly, and his

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natural temperament inclining him strongly to insist upon the truth of that which he himself earnestly believed, he began immediately, on leaving the college, to preach publicly the principles of a purer faith and practice in religion. The energy of his manner, his eloquence, and his talents, added to the fascinating novelty of his doctrines; he went from village to village, and was every where received with enthusiasm by the people. The divorce of Henry VIII. then occupied a great portion of the public attention in France, and Calvin availed himself of it to express an opinion in favour of the English monarch's cause; and although he boldly denied the supremacy of the Pope in such matters, he discountenanced Henry's intention to contract a second marriage. The celebrity which he had gained in the provinces was not enough to satisfy the climbing spirit of the young and ardent reformer; he therefore sold his curacy, and repaired to Paris, where he continued openly to profess and to preach, wherever he could, his animosity against the corruptions of the church. A sermon which he delivered on All Souls day, in the church of the Mathurins, attracted so much attention, that an order was issued for his apprehension, from which he narrowly escaped. The Queen of Navarre procured his pardon for this offence, but the indignation of the persecutors had been so strongly excited, that it was not thought safe for him to appear for the present at Paris. He then led a

wandering life for some time, in the course of which he never lost sight of the purpose to which he was devoted; but, whether in France or in other countries, exerted himself incessantly by his writings and by his exhortations to spread the new religion. During a part of this period he remained at Ferrara, where the duchess, the lady Renée, the youngest daughter of Louis XII., and who had married Ercole da Este, the duke of that state, had provided an asylum for the persecuted reformers, and who remembered too well the mischief which the turbulence and animosity of Julius II. had occasioned to her father and his kingdom, to aid the attempts of the court of Rome and its partisans in crushing the new faith. The protection of the duchess, however, was not powerful enough to shield him from all danger. He was obliged to adopt, while he resided in her dominions, the feigned name of Heppeville, but his real character being discovered, he was threatened by the inquisition, and once more fled. He then bent his course to Germany, not for the purpose of aiding the cause, of which Luther had long been the fearless champion, but with the desire, as it should seem, of suggesting a reform upon that, according to the principles of Zwingle, the Swiss reformer, the most virtuous and rational of all who had been engaged in the same cause, and whose character presented an union of simplicity, manliness, courage, and piety, which is not to be found in those of his more celebrated

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fellow-labourers. Calvin was present at some of the conferences which were held in the German diets, and there maintained more boldly than successfully his own opinions relative to the establishment of the reform which had become popular. The chief points on which he differed from Luther were, first, the justification of sinners by faith in the redemption of Christ, to which he gave a latitude of which the German did not approve; and secondly, the real presence of the Mediator in the eucharist, respecting which while Luther maintained its existence under a certain qualification, to which he gave the name of consubstantiation, Calvin denied that the ceremony was any more than a symbolical rite, to which faith alone gave its sacred character. It was in vain that Calvin endeavoured to gain converts to his opinions among the German Protestants. Luther's influence had been too long and too generally established to be shaken by a stranger, and upon points too extremely difficult to be understood by the majority of his hearers. He went, therefore, from Germany in disappointment, and once more ventured to Paris, where he remained unnoticed for a short period. An event was at hand, however, here, which excited his fears and his horror so strongly, that it determined him to quit his native country for ever. His destiny then led him to Geneva, where he succeeded in establishing the faith he preached in its full effect, and his unremitting exertions, aided by the political circumstances of the times,

and by the free spirit of the people, made Geneva the metropolis of the reformed religion.

The event which had driven Calvin from France was the cause of much present inconvenience to the king, and has fixed an everlasting reproach upon his name. The protestant princes of Germany had hitherto looked upon Francis as an adherent, of whose friendship they were assured, and on whose assistance they might safely rely, but they now conceived a distrust of him in consequence of the cruelty with which he treated the reformers in France, which it was found extremely difficult to remove. In tracing the history of Francis's life, there are many things to regret and many to blame; but they are in general those weaknesses and imprudences which, seen as they are, in company with generosity and bravery, and a predominating proportion of good qualities, inspire our forbearance and compassion, and induce us to seek for excuses in the evil influence of the times in which he lived, or in his own too sanguine temperament. In speaking, however, of his barbarous cruelty to his protestant subjects, these sources of extenuation are exhausted, and contempt and disgust mingle in the censure which justice extorts from us, while we record a persecution as strongly marked with the characters of blood and bigotry as any of the similar atrocities which disgraced the age.

Persecution of the protestants in France.

It was while his preparations were making to encounter the emperor's threatened attack, and

Francis assists in person at

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the burning of heretics.

before he quitted Paris to take the command of his army, that he determined to give a public testimony of his hatred of the innovations in religion which had begun to prevail in his kingdom. (a) Placards impeaching the efficacy of the sacrament of the eucharist, as celebrated in the Romish church, had been affixed in the night-time against the doors of some of the churches in Paris, and against the gates of the Louvre. They were either the production of some of those who had adopted the opinions of Calvin on this point, or were the invention of their enemies, devised for the purpose of fastening upon them the accusation of being dangerous and insolent heretics. The circumstance of their being found was enough to induce the clamour of the bigots; and the king was prevailed upon to assist at a solemn procession which was instituted for the purpose of expiating the impiety and profanation of these placards. Francis, bearing a lighted torch in his hand and accompanied by his sons, the dauphin and the dukes of Orleans and Angoulême, and by the duke de Vendôme and other of the most illustrious nobles of France, headed the procession. The bishop of Paris bearing the holy sacrament, the foreign ambassadors, and an immense train of noble and distinguished personages accompa-

(a) Le Père Daniel, whose zeal is not highly roused by any of the more inspiring subjects which his history of the king's reign presents, says, "Avant que de partir de Paris, il voulut, pour attirer la benediction du ciel sur ses armes, donner un exemple signal de piété et de zèle contre la nouvelle doctrine."—Hist. de Fran., t. vii. p. 743.

nied him, with every external mark of solemnity and devotion, from the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois to the cathedral of Nôtre Dame. Nothing was omitted that could make the ceremony imposing, and the king added his personal share to the scene by protesting in public, and loudly, that his abhorrence of the Lutheran heresy was so intense, that if his right arm was infected with it he would cut it off; and that he would not spare even his own children in his determination to root it out from the land.

On the evening of the same day, six unhappy men, who had been found guilty of doubting the infallible dogmas of the church of Rome, were conducted to the place of public execution, to undergo the sentence to which their persecutors had doomed them. Six piles had been prepared, and above each was a sort of scaffold, on which the victims were placed. A cord was fastened round their bodies, and the fire being then lighted, the executioners lowered it so as to let each of them gently down to the fire; after a short time, when the flames had sufficiently scorched them, the cord was pulled and they were again elevated to the scaffold; and thus alternately raised and lowered until the inhuman appetites of their tormentors were satiated, when they were let fall into the flames, and their agonies were ended by death. (*a*)

(*a*) These details are taken from the account of le Père Daniel, who cannot be accused of any desire to exaggerate the picture to the disadvantage of the persecutors, t. vii.

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Effect of these cruelties in Germany.

The emperor made use of these detestable barbarities to excite, as they were well calculated to do, the horror and animosity of the German protestants against Francis, and he increased those feelings by falsely asserting that the victims were Germans. At the same time he professed an earnest wish to reconcile their differences with the Pope, in which he asserted he should have succeeded but for the French king's invasion of Piedmont. His emissaries spread these statements from one end of Germany to the other, and added to the truth, which was sufficiently shocking, certain fictions which tended to strengthen the impression it had made. They said that Francis had banished all the Germans from his kingdom; forbade his own subjects to have any commerce with them; that he had made a league with the Turk, the object of which was the destruction of Germany; that Charles, indignant at these enormities, had defied Francis to mortal combat; had sent him by a herald a sword dipped in his own blood, in token of his irreconcileable hatred; and had recalled his ambassador from the court of Paris.

Langei's negociations in Germany.

Gross as these misrepresentations were, they were greedily adopted in Germany, and must have turned out very mischievously for Francis, but that he had the wisdom to entrust the task of contradicting them to a most active and intelligent minister. Guillaume du Bellay Langei, whose perfect knowledge of the country and its inhabitants particularly qualified him for this mission, repaired to

Germany. The distrust with which the emperor's emissaries had inspired the princes, and the excitement which prevailed among the people, as well as the peculiar nature of his errand, rendered the utmost circumspection necessary. As a public envoy he would not have been listened to; and if he had announced himself as a Frenchman and the partisan of Francis, the indignation of the people would have placed his life in danger. He proceeded therefore with secrecy and caution. He, in the first place, translated into German, and circulated copies of the emperor's speech, as it had been delivered, and of a reply, by Francis, in which every point of the speech was contradicted or explained. He took advantage of the return of the German merchants to their own country, from the fair of Lyons, where their traffic had been facilitated, and they had been treated with kindness and encouragement by Francis. These traders willingly testified by letters, and by other public statements, their sense of the king's benevolence, and their experience of his friendly dispositions towards Germany. They stated that Leidekerke, the emperor's ambassador, was still at Charles's court, a fact which was of itself sufficient to contradict the story of the challenge, and of the consequent rupture between the monarchs. Langei addressed representations also to each of the independent princes, assuring them that Francis had never relaxed in his inclination to protect them; cited, in proof of it, his accession to the league of

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Smalkalden; and evaded the charge of his having put to death the reformers, by asserting that they were incendiaries, who, under the pretence of religion, had attacked the public peace, and at the same time denied that any of them were Germans. He concluded by requesting that a diet might be convened, and offered, in the king's name, to refer to the arbitration of that tribunal all the subjects of difference between himself and Charles, and to abide by their decision respecting his claims on the Milanese.

The elector palatine, to whom he had principally addressed himself, replied that the king of the Romans was the imperial vicar, and that to him therefore his application for calling a diet should be made. This answer, which was tantamount to a direct refusal to entertain his proposition, determined Langei to rely upon his own exertions, and the assistance of such of the individual electors as he could bring over. He laboured so earnestly in this design, by his personal representations and by the diffusion of a quantity of able and bold remonstrances, in which he vindicated Francis's character and his cause, and by well-timed appeals to the passionate love of liberty which then actuated the German potentates, that he succeeded in obtaining permission to levy troops in several districts. He was also fortunate enough to prevail upon the greater part of a body of thirteen thousand lanz-knechts, which had been raised in the name of the emperor, to take service with Francis, and those

who remained refused to bear arms against him.

It was to vindicate the slaughtered Protestants of France, that Calvin first published his Institutes of the Christian Religion, a work which he afterwards very much extended, and which did not assume the shape in which it is now commonly known for more than twenty years afterwards. He prefaced this first edition by an address to Francis the First, which placed his literary character in a very exalted position; and this dedication is frequently cited as one of the three most celebrated specimens of that species of composition. (*a*) It is earnest and eloquent, but at the same time modest, and so ingenious, that it is difficult to conceive any thing better adapted to effect the purpose for which it was written, the establishing the right of all men to freedom of religious opinions. The assertion of Langei, that the reformers had been put to death as foes to the common tranquillity of the country, and not for their faith, is powerfully refuted.

Francis's preparations for defence.

Francis, whom the appearance of war had effectually roused from the dissipation in which he was too apt to indulge, had been employing himself in providing for the defence of his kingdom, which he could not doubt would become the immediate object of the emperor's assault. He had put all the fortresses on his several frontiers

(*a*) The others are that of Thuanus, prefixed to his history, and that of Casaubon, to his translation of Polybius.

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of Picardy, Champagne, Guyenne, Dauphiné, and Provence, in a perfect state of repair, and had supplied them with choice garrisons, able commanders, and sufficient provisions. The duke de Vendôme was entrusted with the care of Picardy; the duke de Guise with that of Champagne; the king of Navarre, himself a formidable foe to Spain, undertook to protect Guyenne; d'Humières, a brave and skilful officer, took the command of Dauphiné. Barbésieux, the natural enemy and rival of Doria, was sent to Marseilles, which was supposed to be liable to an attack from the galleys of the Genoese admiral; and the king himself repaired to Lyons with his army, to be ready to encounter the descent which he believed the emperor had resolved to attempt upon Provence.

## CHAP. XV.

*Francis prepares to encounter the Emperor's invasion —The French troops recalled from Italy—The Marquis of Saluzzo appointed General in Piedmont—Deserts to the Emperor—Da Leyva attacks Turin and lays siege to Fossano—Gallant defence of Fossano—An honourable capitulation agreed to —Arrival of the Emperor before Fossano—Singular conversation with La Roche du Maine—Successful defence of Turin—Francis's plan of the campaign in Provence—Montmorenci appointed Generalissimo—Provence is laid waste—French camp established at Valence—Conduct of Charles—March of the imperial army—A second French camp formed at Avignon—Death of the Dauphin by poison—Charles endeavours to provoke the French king to a battle—Francis and the Duke of Orleans join the camp at Avignon—The Emperor retreats with great loss—Francis returns to the capital.*

## CHAPTER XV.

(1536.) Francis prepares to encounter the emperor's invasion.

THE preservation of his conquests in Piedmont became an object of minor importance to the French monarch, as soon as he was convinced, by the nature of the emperor's preparations, that the invasion of France was meditated. Francis recalled the admiral de Brion, and directed him to bring back such part of his army as was not necessary to garrison the fortresses he had taken from the duke of Savoy, and which, as they would delay, if they could not check, the emperor's march, were worth an effort to keep. On Brion's departure, the general command of the forces in Piedmont was entrusted to the marquis of Saluzzo, with directions to pursue the plan of operations which the admiral had begun.

The French troops are recalled from Italy.

The marquis of Saluzzo, the king's general in Piedmont, deserts to the emperor.

Although the marquis's military abilities were held in as little estimation as they deserved, the local influence which he possessed, by means of his neighbouring territory, made him a useful ally, and Francis, who relied more upon his fidelity than his talents, might have reasonably hoped that common prudence, and a moderate share of gratitude, would have insured his attachment. He had been educated in France, and had experienced many sensible proofs of

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regard from the king, who had been his fast friend, when all those from whom he might have expected support and assistance had deserted and disowned him. After his elder brother's estates had been confiscated for his rebellion, Francis not only granted them to this marquis, but added to them, as a free gift, other considerable territories in Piedmont; he had conferred on him the order of St. Michael; and, lastly, had entrusted him with the honourable and lucrative command he then held. Saluzzo, who appears to have been one of the weakest as well as the most worthless of human beings, had adopted a notion that the emperor's arms must prevail in the war which was approaching; and although he had built this belief on no surer foundation than the predictions of certain pretended astrologers, he had determined to sacrifice his honour, and to trust his fortunes to the vain dreams which had been inspired by these impostors. (*a*) As however it was necessary to raise some pretext which might colour, though it could not excuse so flagrant a violation of the duties he owed to the French king, he preferred an absurd claim to the marquisate of Montferrat,

(*a*) It had been prophesied that the emperor would conquer France, and that the year 1536 would either bring the king his death, or a captivity similar to that which he had formerly endured. Da Leyva, the imperial general, was promised too that he should die in France, and be buried at St. Denis, which he interpreted to mean that he should lie in the royal tomb of France.—Mém. de Langei, l. v. Belcar., l. xxi.

and made a journey to Lyons, where the king was staying, for the purpose of enforcing his pretensions. Francis laughed at them; the council of state unceremoniously dismissed them; and the marquis, with ill concealed satisfaction at having gained all that he required, and with an affectation of discontent, returned to Italy to execute the scheme he had meditated.

It had been determined in the French councils to confine the defence of Piedmont to the three towns of Turin, Fossano, and Coni. The first was in the hands of d'Annebaut, who, surrounded by a chosen body of the French chivalry, had earnestly employed himself in repairing the fortifications, and had determined never to yield the place while a man remained to defend it. Saluzzo affected to entertain doubts, and to discover difficulties as to which of the other towns should be strengthened, and gave it as his decided opinion that one of them must be evacuated. While the deliberations on this subject were pending, he had, in pursuance of his treacherous design, made overtures through Antonio da Leyva to the emperor, for withdrawing from the alliance of Francis, and for enabling Charles to make himself master of all Piedmont; and the negociations between them were actually in progress. At first every thing seemed to promise him success. The French officers who had then conceived no doubt of his integrity, listened patiently to his propositions, and examined with earnestness the expediency of the plans he sub-

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mitted to them. The result of their deliberations convinced them that the pretences he had made were too flimsy even for his slender intellect to have seriously entertained. Their suspicions were excited, and they told him plainly that they distrusted him. Saluzzo protested that his intentions were honest, and, by way of proving his sincerity, offered to visit Fossano for the purpose of examining its real condition, and providing for its defence. On inspection it was found that it might easily be strengthened, and it was determined that a large body of pioneers should be set to work on the fortifications. They began their labours, but disappeared in the course of the next night. The marquis affected to deplore this accident, and promised to send for other workmen from his own estates; but this promise was never performed. He sent some guns and ammunition, but it turned out that the balls he furnished were so much too large for the cannon, that they were wholly useless. Some of the French generals wrote to the king, denouncing the marquis's treachery, and accompanied their dispatches with proofs so convincing, that Francis ordered him to be arrested. Saluzzo was apprised of this, and took care not to place himself within reach of the irritated officers, and so evaded the danger. Francis, who wished that the emperor's progress might be delayed, wrote to his generals, and desired them in urgent terms, to effect this by any possible means. They immediately

took such measures as were practicable for the defence of Fossano, and evacuated Coni, which the want of the marquis's assistance, rendered untenable. Soon after this they were relieved from all doubt respecting his fidelity, by his openly going over to the emperor, who had arrived at Ast. CHAP. XV.

Da Leyva attacks Turin, and lays siege to Fossano, which is defended with great gallantry.

Da Leyva at the same time marched to Turin, to which place he laid siege, and finding it much stronger than, from the marquis's description, he had anticipated, he left the prosecution of the attack to Scalenghe, the governor of Ast, while he hastened to Fossano and made himself master of some of the buildings in the suburbs, which the French had not had time to destroy. Montpezat commanded the small garrison which was shut up in Fossano; la Roche du Maine and some of the ablest and most experienced of the French officers were with him. In point of numbers the force of da Leyva was infinitely superior, and the imperial general was besides well supplied with provisions. The country was at his command, and he had a large park of artillery, against which the low and ill-repaired walls of the city could not long stand. The besieged were in want of every thing; their provisions were scanty, and were known to be so; for Saluzzo, who, before his desertion, had ascertained the exact amount of their supplies in every respect, had acquainted da Leyva with their minutest details; their guns were few and badly mounted, they had very little ammu-

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nition, and the supply of water in the city was wholly inadequate to their consumption. Against the odds with which they had thus to contend, they had nothing to help them but their indomitable resolution, and yet this sufficed to tire out the patience of their foes, and to insure their own triumph. Da Leyva, who could not persuade himself that they would attempt a defence under circumstances so hopeless, purposely omitted to extend his attack to the gate which led to Coni, in the supposition that they would gladly retreat to that place, and in accordance with the military precept which counsels the building a bridge of gold for a flying enemy. But he found that the only use they made of the open way to Coni was to supply themselves with water from a spring on that road, and he saw that if he meant to beat them he must set about it in due form. He afterwards opened trenches and erected batteries, which in a few days had dismounted the cannon on the town walls. The French then made two sallies at a moment when they were least expected. The cavalry, on one side, and the infantry on the other, assailed the imperialists with such vigour and success that da Leyva himself was surprised, and would have been taken but for the promptitude with which his men carried him off in a chair, an attack of gout having rendered him incapable of walking. The pursuit of the French was followed up briskly, and da Leyva's soldiers had no other means of saving him than by hiding him in a

corn field. The besieged having done great mischief in the camp, retired in excellent order to the town again, with the loss of only two or three men. Da Leyva then tried the effect of his guns; but although he battered down the walls he did not venture to enter the breach he had made, and encounter in the close streets of the town the desperate enemies who had proved themselves more than a match for his troops even in the plain. He determined at length to await the more certain effect of famine; but the frugality and good management of the defenders rendered this process too slow for his impatience. He had no doubt that the besieged would willingly capitulate upon honourable terms; but as he knew that the more favourable those terms should be to them, the less glorious the victory must be to him, he wished them to make the first proposition. To induce them to do this he sent a trumpet with a friendly message to la Roche du Maine, who commanded in the garrison, and with whom he was well acquainted, inviting him to pay him a visit, and inquiring if he was not tired of having no wine to drink. Du Maine replied by a piece of bravado, which was not then for the first time resorted to, and sent him a couple of flasks of the best wine in the town, ill as it could be spared. The herald had been also told to mention the defection of the marquis de Saluzzo, which Montpezat and the other officers, although they had long known it, affected not to believe, but to treat as an invention of the

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enemy. On the following day the same messenger returned to say, on the part of da Leyva, that if Montpezat would send him an officer of his own company he would give him proofs of Saluzzo's treachery; and at the same time he sent du Maine some baskets of fruit in return for his present. Montpezat then accepted his invitation; but to avoid the appearance of eagerness for a capitulation, which he heartily desired, he would not send so important an officer as la Roche du Maine. He commissioned, therefore, a young subaltern, named St. Martin, to visit da Leyva, under the pretext of receiving information respecting Saluzzo, but in truth with a view of leading the imperial general to propose terms for a surrender.

Da Leyva spared St. Martin the necessity of using any artifice, by bluntly telling him that he knew the garrison was reduced to the utmost extremity, and, at the same time, he produced a paper in Saluzzo's handwriting, containing an exact account of the provisions which had been in Fossano before the commencement of the siege; and concluded by advising the besieged not to prolong a defence which must be in vain, but to rely on the clemency of the emperor.

On St. Martin's return, another officer was sent to effect a treaty for a capitulation, the first proposition for which had now come from da Leyva. The imperial general proposed to permit the garrison to march out unmolested,

but without arms or baggage. The officer replied that he could listen to no such terms, because they were unworthy the acceptance of brave men, to whom dishonour was a worse evil than death; and adding, that the general would find Saluzzo to have been a double traitor, and that Fossano was not yet so defenceless as was imagined, he abruptly concluded the discourse, and departed. CHAP. XV.

Da Leyva, who knew the sort of men he had to deal with was unwilling to drive them to desperate extremities. On the following morning, he sent a message to la Roche du Maine, reproaching him for not having been to see him, and inviting him to dinner for the following day. This invitation it was resolved that du Maine should accept; but, with that punctilious spirit which their necessities could not weaken, and to avoid even the appearance of too great willingness to come to an accommodation, the French officers determined that their comrade should not set out until the dinner hour. Du Maine was received with unaffected cordiality by da Leyva, and by the other imperial officers with the respect to which his reputation entitled him. The affairs of the siege soon became a subject of conversation, and da Leyva shortly agreed to the only terms which du Maine assured him would be accepted by his companions: they were, that the garrison should march out with their arms and baggage, and

Honourable capitulation agreed to.

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with their flags flying, leaving only the artillery, and horses of a stipulated size, in the place; that this evacuation should not take place until the end of July, (the month having then only just begun,) in order to give time for the possible arrival of succours. They were also in the mean time to have permission to repair the breaches in the walls, but not to reinstate the fortifications. These stipulations being acceded to on both sides, it was agreed also, that la Roche du Maine, la Palisse, the son of the late marshal, and d'Assier, the son of Genouillac the grand master, should remain as hostages in the imperial camp for their due performance. Du Maine procured also permission for the garrison to purchase provisions, without which the treaty would have been in vain, although da Leyva restricted them to buying no more at any one time than would suffice for four-and-twenty hours consumption.

Arrival of the emperor before Fossano.

A very few days after this treaty had been signed, the emperor arrived in person at da Leyva's camp with a large army. The hostages were introduced, and received by him with great condescension: he particularly distinguished la Roche du Maine, with whom he had several conversations, in which the French soldier's honest bluntness was singularly contrasted with the servile adulation the emperor was in the habit of receiving from his own courtiers. Charles told him he would gratify him with

the sight of a very fine army, meaning his own; and du Maine replied that he should be much more gratified at seeing it destroyed, or employed against the Turks. This, far from offending the emperor, amused him. After they had inspected the army, Charles asked du Maine what he thought of it. "It is a fine army," replied du Maine, "but if your majesty should ever happen to cross the Alps, the king my master will show you a much finer one." Charles asked him whither he thought he intended to march. "To Provence, I suppose," said du Maine. "Certainly," replied Charles, "the people of Provence are my subjects. I mean to visit them." "Then," rejoined du Maine, "I can promise your majesty you will find them the most disobedient of all your subjects." On another occasion, Charles asked him how many days' journeys it was from that place to Paris. "If by days' journeys," replied du Maine, "your majesty means battles, you will have to fight twelve at least—unless you should happen to be beaten in the first." The emperor turned away laughing to his courtiers, and said, "I told you what kind of answer I was like to get from this gentleman."

When the month had elapsed, during which the town of Fossano, with its small and weakened garrison, had remained in a posture of defence in the presence of two large armies, it was evacuated by the French, no succours having arrived, upon the terms which had been agreed

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to, and the garrison marched to the French frontier.(a)

Defence of Turin.

Turin in the meantime not only maintained its defence, but d'Annebaut's exertions had been so well timed, and so successful, that he was enabled to take several places in the vicinity. All the territory of Saluzzo was gained, and the French monarch punished the treachery of the marquis, by conferring those possessions on his elder brother, whom he released from his imprisonment.(b)

Francis's able plan of the campaign.

Francis in the meantime had remained inactive, but not idle, at Lyons. Having by his former arrangements effectually provided for the defence of the other assailable points of his dominions he had concentrated his forces for the purpose of encountering Charles's attack on Provence. At this period of his life his character assumed a new aspect. In his earlier years he had seemed to consider warfare only as the path to glory, and had entered upon it with a fervent and intoxicated feeling, which rendered

(a) Mém. de du Bellay, l. vii. Belcar., l. xxi. Varillas, l. viii.

(b) Giovanni Ludovico, who was thus restored to his possessions, enjoyed his good fortune only for a short period. He was an extremely weak man, and although he had been cautioned to remain on his guard against the artifices of his more cunning brother, he soon afterwards fell into his hands, and was shut up by him in the fortress of Val Ferreiro. The traitor was, however, disappointed of the reward he proposed to gain, for the king's officers still retained possession of the most important places of the marquisate.—Gaillard, l. iv. c. 7.

him deaf to the counsels of more experienced soldiers, and bent upon gaining distinction in arms, he scorned to pursue it by the cautious and prudent measures which render its attainment most certain. Now, grown wiser by experience and by the stern lessons of adversity, he felt and acted upon the principles which ought to govern a monarch who engages in a war for the only reasons that can justify it, the safety and honour of his kingdom. He settled the plan of his campaign, which he determined should be strictly defensive, and which he made effectual by means which it cost him the most painful sacrifices to resort to, and which, in their execution, inflicted upon his people, (the first object of his solicitude,) the deepest distress.

Montmorenci appointed generalissimo.

He committed to Montmorenci the supreme command of his troops, reserving to himself the power of inspecting their movements and the care of providing for such emergencies as might arise. Montmorenci, who, like Francis, had been hitherto characterized by an ardent courage, which often approached rashness, seconded his monarch's views with consummate prudence, and acting under the influence of the circumstances in which the country was placed, mastered his natural propensities with a firmness which did him greater honour than the more glittering exploits of his former battles. In pursuance of the plan which had been agreed on, the whole country, from the coast to Dauphiny, and from the Alps to the Durance, was

Provence is laid waste.

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laid waste, so that the progress of the invaders might be impeded as much as possible. The noblemen and gentlemen, whose estates lay within the scope of this most rigorous measure, unhesitatingly complied with the king's bidding, and, for the preservation of their country, sacrificed, without a murmur, their castles, and farms, and all such of their property as it was impossible to remove. The poorer classes of the people found it much more difficult at once to encounter voluntarily the horrors of poverty; and although Bonneval, who was commissioned to see this measure carried into effect, traversed the country to the confines, giving them timely intimation that there was no alternative in case of their refusal, but to enforce it by his soldiery, he found upon his return that the people still lingered at their homes, and could not bring themselves to destroy what constituted their whole possessions. The scenes which ensued were almost as dreadful as those which accompany the incursion of an enemy. It was necessary, in order to have the destruction promptly completed, to give the soldiery a certain licence, which, as might be expected, they shamefully abused. Such of the provisions as could be transported were carried away; the rest was destroyed, and the resistance of the country people was put down with circumstances of barbarity which were not the less shocking because they were rendered inevitable by the circumstances of the war. Whole villages were

destroyed, the fields were universally devastated, every article of human consumption was wasted or spoiled, every house that could afford a shelter to the invaders was razed to the ground, and even the strong town of Aix, the capital of Provence, was dismantled, notwithstanding the entreaties of Montejan, who commanded in it, and who offered to be answerable for its defence until the ensuing winter. Marseilles alone, of all the places in the province, was preserved.

Francis establishes his camp at Valence.

Francis, who had remained at Lyons until he learnt that the emperor had actually begun his march, then moved onwards to the frontier. He dismissed Leidekerke, Charles's ambassador at his court, and recalled Velly. An attempt was made by the emperor to renew the negociations, with a view of putting him off his guard; but Francis was no longer his dupe, and although he transmitted to d'Humières, who commanded in Dauphiny, full powers to treat with the emperor's envoy, he so effectually guarded all the passes, that da Leyva's attempts upon them were entirely frustrated. The king immediately repaired to Valence, the situation of which enabled him to provide for the safety of Dauphiny and Provence, whichever of them should be the first object of the emperor's attack, and there he established his camp. The plan of operations was here finally settled, and communicated to the French generals; and having formed an inflexible resolution not to be tempted to an engagement without the certain

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prospect of success, Francis sate down to await the approach of his enemy.

Conduct of Charles.

Charles's conduct on this occasion indicated a change in his character no less remarkable than that which had taken place in Francis. Until lately he had always made war by his generals, and had reserved to himself the more important, though less distinguished task, of directing the diplomatic operations of his government. A series of successes had induced him to believe that his arms were invincible: the brilliant result of his expedition to Barbary had excited in him a passion for war; he had persuaded himself that France could not resist the force of his arms, and although it appeared that he had more than sufficiently departed from the cautious gravity of his temper in the vain and insolent declamation he had uttered in the consistory of Rome, even that display was temperate compared with the braggart invectives which he now poured forth against the king and the people of France.

In the confirmed assurance of triumph, which he was desirous of enjoying alone, he determined to march at the head of his army, and he persisted in this determination in spite of the real or affected remonstrances of his generals. He ordered a general inspection of his troops, and after riding through the ranks he addressed a long harangue to the soldiers, in which he flattered their vanity by exaggerating the glory of their past victories, and even con-

descended to excite their love of plunder, by picturing to them the riches of the country which he invited them to attack. He concluded by asking them if they were content to follow him to France. A loud shout expressed the eager assent of the troops, and the scene was concluded by his repeating what he had said at Rome, that if the king of France had soldiers as brave as his, and if his were no better than those of Francis, he would go, with his hands tied, and a rope about his neck, to implore his enemy's clemency. (*a*)

March of the imperial army.

Soon afterwards the imperial army began its march. It consisted of twenty-two thousand Germans, ten thousand Spaniards, twelve thousand Italians, and two thousand five hundred other soldiers. The marquis du Guast commanded the infantry, Ferdinand Gonzagua led the cavalry, the gendarmerie was under the command of the duke of Alba, and Antonio da Leyva held the office of generalissimo, under the emperor. To conduct such an immense force through a hostile country was a task of considerable difficulty, and was of necessity attended with great loss as well as delay. As the emperor marched by the way of Grace and Autibes, keeping as long as he could within reach of the sea-shore, that he might, in case of

(*a*) It was during this period of excitement that Charles bade Paulus Jovius provide himself with a stock of pens and ink, for that he was about to furnish him full employment for them.

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attack, have the assistance of the galleys, in which his artillery and ammunition were embarked. When his army reached the Alps, the difficulties of its progress were much increased. The toilsome and unaccustomed road, the slowness with which the troops made their way through the inhospitable regions, which were wholly destitute of supplies, were inevitable disadvantages; but they were trifling compared with the loss which the imperialists sustained by the attacks of the infuriated peasantry, who had taken refuge in the mountains, and were induced by their misery and their desire of vengeance on the authors of their sufferings to lose no opportunity of harassing the invading army. Their knowledge of the country enabled them to do this with dreadful effect. They cut off convoys of provisions, intercepted couriers, and made incessant attacks from points which were inaccessible to their enemies. When at length the mountains were passed and this kind of warfare was put an end to, a body of the peasantry, about fifty in number, actuated by their despair, shut themselves up in a small tower, which they had reason to believe that the emperor must pass, and had pledged themselves to each other to fire simultaneously on him, in the belief that although their own destruction was inevitable, they should thereby put an end to the war which had desolated their country. A mere accident saved Charles from the fate which threatened him. One of his offi-

cers, who bore some personal resemblance to him, and who was so magnificently dressed, that the simple peasants thought he could be none other than the emperor, was mistaken for him, and fired upon. The tower was immediately attacked, the miserable inmates soon overpowered, and as they made no secret of their design, Charles thought himself justified in dooming them to death, a sentence which was carried into execution on the spot. CHAP. XV.

When Francis was satisfied that the emperor meant to make his attack on Provence, he sent Montmorenci, with the greater part of his army, to establish another camp at Avignon, quite as large as that which he had formed at Valence. The position which the maréchal took up, and the arrangements he made for maintaining it, were admirably skilful and judicious. The Durance defended his camp on one side against attack; on the other, the Rhone afforded an easy and rapid passage for all supplies that might be needed. He so well fortified the further bank of the Durance, that any unexpected approach to the river was impossible, and to pass it was a hopeless attempt. The internal arrangements of the camp were made with such minuteness and care, as at once provided for the comfort and accommodation of the large body of troops which it contained, and insured their immediate and active operation whenever they should be required. Montmorenci's own tent was placed upon an eminence that enabled him

A second French camp formed at Avignon.

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to command the whole space, and to observe every movement of the swarming host by which he was surrounded. He was on horseback from morning to night, visited the several quarters of the camp daily, conversed with the officers and men, and gained the affection and respect of all, not less by the expediency of the operations he directed, than by the affability of his demeanour. When the arrangements were completed, a part of the imperial army was yet in the defiles of the Alps. The temptation to attack them, at a time when it might have been done with great advantage, was inviting; but Montmorenci, although he thought fit to call a council of war on the subject, steadily adhered to the resolution which he had formed in concert with the king, and remained in his entrenchments. It was however extremely difficult to restrain the ardent courage of some of the officers by whom he was surrounded, and the impetuosity of two of the leaders exposed them to great peril, and provoked the only disgrace which the French arms encountered in this campaign.(*a*)

Montejan and Boisi made prisoners in a skirmish.

Montejan, a celebrated officer, was among those who had been commissioned to watch the progress of the imperial army. Vassé, his lieutenant, who was also his kinsman, brought him intelligence that one of the emperor's officers was in the road to Brignolles with some troops who might be easily cut off, and Montejan, in spite of the injunctions of Bonneval, who was his

(*a*) Du Bellay, l. vii.

superior officer, determined to attempt the enterprize. He persuaded young Boisi, the son of the late admiral Bonnivet, to accompany him; and with their two companies, amounting to about two hundred men at arms and three hundred foot, they set upon the imperialists, who fell back immediately. The heat of the weather and the approach of evening prevented a pursuit, and the French troops took up their quarters for the night at Brignolles. The body which had retreated fell in with a much larger force, commanded by Gonzagua, who, upon the news they brought him, immediately returned to Brignolles, surprised the French, defeated them after a sanguinary conflict, and took the two officers prisoners. Charles took the usual advantage of this trifling and accidental success to publish throughout Europe that he had defeated the whole advanced guard of the French army.

Death of the dauphin by poison.

This check mortified the king; but a deeper calamity, which befell him at nearly the same time, overwhelmed all minor griefs. His eldest son, the dauphin Francis, whose courage and accomplishments gave the promise of a glorious manhood, and who was equally doated on by his father and beloved by the French people, died suddenly at Tournon, soon after he had joined the army, and before the rejoicings which his arrival occasioned were concluded. The manner of his death too gave rise to suspicions which aggravated the sorrow it had occasioned, and filled France, and even all Europe, with distrust and

12th August.

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horror. It was at first believed that his illness had been brought on by his having imprudently taken a copious draught of cold water when he was heated with playing a game at tennis; but clear indications of his having been poisoned manifested themselves after his death, and these, joined to other circumstances, cast the suspicion of having murdered him upon Sebastian Montecuculi, a nobleman of Ferrara, who filled the office of sewer in the dauphin's household. (*a*) He was arrested and put to the

(*a*) Some arsenic was discovered in Montecuculi's possession, which the physicians ascertained to be of the same quality as that they had found on opening the dauphin's body.—Le P. Daniel.

Varillas who, agreeable as his relations are, is somewhat too fond of the marvellous to be implicitly relied on, gives a minute account of the manner of the dauphin's death. He says he was in the habit of drinking copiously of water after his meals, and after he had taken exercise; and to guard against the consequences of indulging in this practice to excess, Agnes Beatrix de Pacheco, one of the queen's ladies of honour, had given him a small cup which she had brought with her from Portugal, which was made of some extraordinary composition of earth that had the quality of producing an effervescence in the water, which deprived it of its crudity. The prince being heated with his play, had sent his page for some water, and the boy ran with this cup to a neighbouring well, and placed it on the ground while he drew up the bucket. At this moment, and when the boy was looking into the well Montecuculi approached and threw a portion of arsenic into the vessel. The page filled it without looking at it, and carried it to the prince, who drank it off. He was almost immediately seized with convulsions, and expired on the fourth day afterwards, on his way to Tournon.—Varillas, l. viii.

torture, when he confessed his crime, and added that it was his intention to have poisoned the king also. The wretched culprit was condemned on the instant, and suffered, by the most dreadful means, that death which his detestable treachery had deserved. (a) From some expressions which had escaped him in the course of the minute and rigorous interrogation he underwent, a notion was engendered that the emperor had instigated this crime; (b) but although the people of France, in their hatred of Charles, adopted it eagerly, and although Francis affected to believe that it had some foundation, the emperor's vehement and indignant denial, and the whole tenour of his conduct, are sufficient to vindicate him from so hateful a charge. His ambitious designs, the duplicity which he never scrupled to practise in order to attain his ends, and his want of sympathy with the generous impulses of his less prudent rival, were sufficiently apparent in every action of his life;

(a) He was torn to pieces by horses at Lyons, on the 7th of October.

(b) Montecuculi related, under the torture, among other things, that he had had an audience of the emperor in Italy, to which he was introduced by Ferdinand Gonzagua and Antonio da Leyva, and at which the emperor asked him some questions about the king's habits at his repasts: a circumstance which might be explained on the ground of mere curiosity, and which, considering the function of Montecuculi, was not unnatural, but which is far short of leading to a suspicion that it was connected with a design of murdering Francis.—Le P. Daniel.

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but none of them afford the slightest ground for the suspicion that he would have suborned a murderer to deprive the French prince of existence. Charles, when it was first communicated to him that common rumour coupled his name with Montecuculi's, testified all the anger and horror which such an accusation was calculated to inspire in the mind of an innocent man, and protested that he would have forfeited a thousand empires rather than have his conscience stained with so foul a crime; and Ferdinand Gonzagua and da Leyva, who had been included in the accusation, disclaimed with equal earnestness all knowledge of or participation in it, and defied any one who would maintain the contrary to a personal combat. (*a*) There appears no satisfactory circumstance which can be adduced in the way of proof that the emperor or any of his adherents had instigated this atrocious crime. At the same time that they vehemently denied the imputation of their enemies, they designated another person as the probable author of it, whose after-life gave too much reason to believe that she would not have scrupled to resort to any means for removing whatever obstacles stood between her and the dignity she coveted. Catherine de' Medicis, then the wife of the dauphin's younger brother, had every reason to wish the prince dead; and it is hardly doing her any injustice to believe, that neither

(*a*) Le Feron.

his amiable manners, nor the popularity which he deservedly enjoyed, would have restrained her from practices which her early education had made her familiar with, and which her subsequent conduct proved it not impossible for her to resort to. (*a*) CHAP. XV.

The painful duty of communicating this afflicting news to the king devolved upon the cardinal de Lorraine. Francis, who was wholly unprepared for such a blow, gave himself up for a few moments to the grief which the loss of a child so well and so worthily beloved naturally excited. He bewailed, with tears of bitter anguish, the death of his son, and his whole court participated in his sorrow with undissembled sympathy. He sent, on the following day, for his second son, Henri, duke of Orleans; and, embracing him, conjured him to make the conduct of his departed brother his example,

(*a*) The prince was three and twenty years of age at the time of his death, and had given promise of the noblest qualities. He was of a temper different not only from his brothers, but from his countrymen in general. He possessed a cool resolution and moderation, which had excited general wonder and respect. He was at the same time gentle, modest, and affable, and particularly distinguished by his politeness towards the fair sex. His complexion was clear and delicate, though somewhat dark; his manners were dignified and his figure quite as majestic as his father's, but better proportioned. It was the fashion of the day to make choice of a colour, and to wear it constantly, and the dauphin had selected black, which he thought most suitable to persons of condition.—Varillas, l. viii.

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and so to afford him the only consolation he was able to receive. (*a*)

Charles endeavours in vain to provoke the French king to an engagement.

Charles, in the mean time, had made his way, unimpeded, to Aix, and indulged his vanity, by announcing, in inflated terms, his arrival at that city. The enemies whom he had expected to encounter, remained in their entrenchments, and he saw, that if they persisted in refusing him the battle he sought, all his plans would be frustrated. But although he met no foes in the field, there was one, of whose certain, though noiseless approach, he was fully aware, and whose power he dreaded more than all those who were in arms against him. He was in a wasted country; his supplies were rapidly consuming, and could only be replaced with difficulty, with great cost, and still more dangerous delay. He felt that the attacks of famine would be irresistible, and he earnestly endeavoured to force on an engagement, or to gain some strong town in France, which might afford a shelter to his army, and enable him to command supplies.

Reconnoitres Marseilles and Arles.

He threatened to attack Montmorenci in his camp, but he was too well advised of its strength to carry that threat into execution, and he therefore determined to make an attempt on Marseilles. For this purpose, he went with the marquis du Guast to reconnoitre, and was within reach of the guns of the city, when his party was discovered. Several detachments

(*a*) Mém. de du Bellay, l. vii.

came out, in the hope of cutting him off, without, however, knowing that the object of their pursuit was really the emperor. Du Guast left Charles in a ruined building, where they had been making observations, and insured his safety by drawing the attention of the pursuers to his own flight. Some prisoners were taken, from whom the French officers learnt that Charles, in person, had been near falling into their hands. Barbesieux, who commanded in Marseilles, endeavoured to repair his mistake, but it was too late, and the emperor got back to Aix, not, however, without difficulty, while the detachment which had been sent out to effect his retreat was severely handled by the troops of the garrison. Soon afterwards, he sent du Guast to ascertain the practicability of an enterprize upon Arles, whither Bonneval had retired after performing his desolating errand. The dissensions that prevailed among the Italian and French soldiers, of whom the garrison was composed, had risen to such a height as to induce the emperor to believe he could succeed in surprising that place; but he found that the troops, however quarrelsome among themselves, or insubordinate to their officers, were unanimous in their determination to resist his attack. Du Guast was reconnoitring from an eminence which commanded the city, and, under the shelter of some windmills, had just satisfied himself that the care of the besieged had provided for the safety of all that he took to be accessible points,

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when he saw that he was discovered. Two guns were pointed at him, and he had only just time to throw himself on one side to escape the shots which struck the building near him, and so frightened his horse, that he ran away with him, fortunately in a direction opposite to the city. Charles attempted some other places, but with no better success, and found that to whatsoever point he directed his attention, the provident caution of the French king had strengthened it, and that his attempts would be in vain. He then again announced loudly his intention of marching to the camp at Avignon, and affected to make preparations for that enterprise.

The duke of Orleans joins the camp at Avignon.

Henri, duke of Orleans, whom his brother's death had now made the dauphin, was in the camp at Valence when this news arrived, and believing that an engagement was at hand, he besought his father to permit him to join Montmorenci at Avignon. As Francis at first refused, the ardent young prince put in practice all possible means to induce him to accede to his request. He engaged the interest of the persons most in the king's confidence, and wrote a pressing entreaty to Montmorenci, that he would add his persuasions, and represent to the king that there could scarcely ever occur a more favourable opportunity for making his first attempt in arms. Francis, who was delighted at the spirit which his son displayed, yielded to his entreaties, and dismissed him with in-

junctions to follow in all things the sage counsels of Montmorenci; to remember that his birth gave him no privileges in the army beyond those of any other volunteer; that he went not to command, but to learn to command. The dauphin, accompanied by several noblemen of nearly his own age, who had eagerly solicited permission to join him, immediately set off for Avignon; Montmorenci met him on the bridge and received him with the respect due to his rank, while the soldiery hailed his arrival as a prognostic of some exploit which would relieve them from the inactivity which they found extremely irksome.

Distress of the imperialists.

The emperor in the mean time felt the want of supplies most urgently, while the hope of obtaining them was daily diminishing. His foraging parties hardly ever went out that they did not return beaten; they could not shew themselves, but they were sure of encountering an attack; and if they established themselves in any place one day, they were inevitably driven out of it the next. The most serious evil that befell him, was the disappointment of a supply on which he had calculated. A quantity of biscuit for his troops had been landed at Toulon, and all the cattle that could be procured between Aix and Nice, had been engaged to transport it. The peasantry of the district watched an opportunity of attacking the escort; they at length wholly defeated it, hamstringed the beasts, and carried off or destroyed the sup-

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plies. This event forced the emperor to decide either on an immediate engagement, or on the only alternative, flight; and the universal belief was that he would choose the former.

Francis repairs in person to Avignon.

Francis, who although he had hitherto manifested a moderation and forbearance which were known to be quite foreign to his character, had determined to be present at the battle, to which all his measures had tended to draw the emperor, no sooner learnt that it was likely to take place than he avowed his intention of joining Montmorenci at Avignon. His council represented to him, in vain, that it would be running too great a risk, at the same time that it was wholly unnecessary for him to expose his person, and pointed out to him the immediate evils which must result if any personal mischance should befall him; while, if he remained in the position he had taken up, he would be entitled to all the glory of the enterprises he had formed and directed, if they should succeed; and, if they failed, he would be enabled to provide a prompt remedy. There was much good sense in these remonstrances; but they were founded not more upon the judgment of the officers than upon a popular notion which had been industriously spread by the emperor's agents, that Francis's individual ill luck would spoil any design in which he engaged—a notion that was not only commonly received by the soldiery, but which had even infected the minds of the generals, who were not proof against the superstí-

tions of their age. Montmorenci wrote to conjure him not to quit his camp, and assured him that the more than half-beaten emperor must retreat in the course of a few days, unless he should be provoked by the king's presence to a battle, in which his mere despair might make him a formidable foe. Langei added his personal exhortations to the same effect, but in vain. Francis reproached them with yielding to vain superstitions, which were disgraceful to them as soldiers and christians, and announced his positive determination to repair to Avignon. "It shall never be said," he exclaimed, "that while Charles, with his sword in his hand, is at the head of his armies, I am content to remain at Valence merely to furnish supplies for mine. I shall go to meet him, and it may chance that an occasion will offer for settling that duel which has been too long and too often talked of." The king immediately set off, and reached the camp after a journey of two days.

The emperor is relieved by Doria.

At about the same time Doria's fleet arrived off the coast of Provence, and brought a seasonable supply of provisions, and of money to pay the troops, whom their privations had rendered more than usually impatient. Charles had some days before ordered his artillery to be put on board boats, with a view, as it was believed, of facilitating his retreat or of making an attack upon Languedoc. He now immediately ordered it to be landed; the troops were reviewed, and provisions for ten days were given out to the

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different regiments, with orders to have the men in constant readiness. Every thing at this time gave certain promise of a battle, and the French soldiery looked eagerly to the moment which should relieve them from the inaction to which they had been too long condemned.

Determines upon a retreat, which is effected with great loss.

The suspense in which this state of things kept the French king and his army was not of long continuance. Martin du Bellay, who had been sent to reconnoitre, returned with the intelligence that the emperor was in full retreat; that he had taken the road across the Alps into Italy, and that, not to encumber his march, he had left the sick and wounded, of whom there were great numbers, in his camp. A personal inspection soon convinced Francis of the perfect accuracy of this representation. He visited the camp lately occupied by his rival, where a sight so full of misery and distress met his eyes that it might have turned any humane mind from the pursuit of glory which was to be paid for with so vast a sum of mortal suffering. The famine the enemy's soldiers had endured had occasioned much sickness in the camp; the unwholesomeness of the climate, to which the greater part of them were unaccustomed, the immoderate use of fruit, particularly grapes, which, while every thing else in the country had been destroyed, were permitted to remain for the purpose of tempting the invaders to what was well known would be their destruction, had combined to increase their maladies, and an infectious fever which broke out

among them, had carried them off in frightful numbers. When the emperor reviewed his troops, upon Doria's arrival, he was shocked at the diminution which had taken place, and of which he had before no accurate notion, and his determination to retreat was formed upon the instant. The necessity appeared so urgent, that he was compelled to abandon those who could not follow him, to their fate; and upon the arrival of the French soldiers, they found a crowd of wretches who, under the accumulated evils of pestilence and starvation, invoked death as a termination of their miseries. Nothing could have been more easy than to pursue the emperor's flight, for so it might be called more justly than a retreat. It could not be rapid in such a country as he had to traverse, and every step of it might be tracked by the corses of the wretches who had fallen by the road side, overtaken by death in their attempt to escape from it. But Francis had, at this time, news from Picardy, which was the scene of another war, that restrained him, and compelled him, unwillingly as it should seem, to adhere to the cautious system which had insured his present triumph, and to adopt the council of Montmorenci, who conjured him to do nothing which might disturb the emperor's retreat.

With an army reduced to less than half its numbers; with the loss of some of his ablest generals, among whom Antonio da Leyva (*a*)

(*a*) The prediction which had so strongly influenced the latter part of da Leyva's conduct, was fulfilled to the letter,

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was the most regretted, and the most difficult to be replaced, Charles made his way through the country which his attack had desolated. The roads were bad, the rains had begun, and the mountain torrents had swelled the rivers, so that to pass them was extremely difficult, and attended with certain loss. The armed peasantry hung constantly upon his rear, and did him considerable damage, while they repaid themselves by the plunder of his train, for some of the loss which he had occasioned them. His artillery had been left in the camp, and fell into the hands of the French; the greater part of his baggage shared the same fate: and, thus disgraced and baffled, Charles fled, for the second time, before the rival who had once been his prisoner, and whose person and army he had affected to despise. He reached Genoa with some difficulty, and his humiliation was increased by the contrast which his enemies did not fail to draw between the arrogant threats and boastings in which he had indulged before he undertook this expedition, and the sorry termination to which he had brought it.

but not in the sense in which he understood it. He fell, under a complication of bodily infirmities, which his disappointment rendered him less able to encounter, on the retreat, and was buried, although in the church of St Denys, not in the cemetery of the French kings, but in a church of that name at Milan.—Brantome, Mém.

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*War in Picardy—Siege of Peronne—Flanders, Artois, and Charolois declared to be reannexed to the French crown—Charles is summoned by the French parliament—Francis marches in person to Artois—The King's successes—The Imperialists retake St. Pol, and lay siege to Therouenne—A truce agreed to, through the intervention of the Queen of Hungary—The war in Piedmont—Death of the Marquis of Saluzzo—Successes of the Imperialists, and distress of the French—The King arrives at Lyons—Pignerol is besieged by du Guast—He fortifies the Pas de Suze, and disputes the King's passage—Montmorenci forces the passage—The Siege of Pignerol is raised, and Turin relieved by the French—The truce is extended to Piedmont—Francis's treaty with Solyman II.—Conferences for a peace between France and Spain—Terms proposed on the Emperor's part—Francis's reply—The congress is broken up—Montmorenci is made constable of France—The Pope interferes to effectuate a peace—Nice is fixed upon for an interview between the monarchs—The Duke of Savoy's discontent—The King and the Emperor arrive at Nice—A peace is found to be impracticable, but a truce is agreed on—The treaty is signed—The Queen of France visits the Emperor—The Duke of Savoy unwillingly confirms the treaty—Interview between Francis and Charles at Aigues Mortes.*

## CHAPTER XVI.

1536. War in Picardy.

At the same time that the emperor had made his descent upon Provence, the count de Nassau and the count de Roeux entered Picardy with an army of twenty thousand foot and about seven thousand horse. They succeeded in taking Brai, which was very ill defended; and although they were repulsed at St. Riquier, their first advantage enabled them to command the passage of the Somme. The duke de Vendôme, with such a force as the suddenness of the enemies' attack enabled him to collect, drove them from this position, and a series of skirmishes ensued, in which neither side gained any notable victory, until the invaders having surprised Guise, made themselves masters of the fortress. They then proceeded to attack Peronne, into which Fleuranges had thrown himself with a small force on the first alarm, and pressed the attack so vigorously, that the place, which was ill supplied in all respects, was in great danger. (*a*) The

(*a*) When the count de Nassau first marched against this city, it was thought by the inhabitants so incapable of defence, that they determined to abandon it. A gentleman of the name of d'Estourmel, who resided in the neighbourhood, transported thither all the grain and other provisions that he could command, and took up his abode there with his wife

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people of Paris who could not see the enemy so near their gates without very sensible fear, were encouraged by the cardinal du Bellay, to whom the king had entrusted the government of the city. This excellent prelate adapted his exertions to the necessities of the time, without however forgetting or degrading his holy function; and animated the terrified people to take such measures as their safety required. Having amply victualled the city, and strengthened it in such a manner as to defy attack, he prevailed upon the inhabitants to raise and dispatch a force of ten thousand men to the relief of Peronne, with a supply of provisions and ammunition, of which the garrison stood in much need.

Siege of Peronne.

The count de Nassau pressed the siege with great vigour, and harassed the garrison by incessant assaults; while, to add to the misfortunes of the besieged, they were in want of ammunition. Fleuranges took advantage of a short interval between the assaults, to dispatch a trusty messenger to the dukes de Guise and de Vendome, who were in the neighbourhood, and who were waiting for reinforcements, their own forces being insufficient to cope with those of the count de Nassau. The duke de Guise se-

and children. His example encouraged the other gentlemen of the country to do the same, and these prompt measures, aided by the marquis de Fleuranges' arrival, enabled them to disappoint the enemy of a prey which he thought was already in his power.—Le P. Daniel, t. vii.

lected four hundred cross-bow men, each of whom he loaded with a bag containing ten pounds of powder, and at night-fall escorted them to the edge of the morass which surrounded Peronne. In order to divert the attention of the assailants, he at the same time sounded an alarm, which had exactly the effect he anticipated. The imperialists hurried to their posts, expecting an attack, and enabled the bowmen to reach the walls of the city, into which they were drawn by cords; and the duke de Guise retreated without loss. On the following day the count de Nassau, who believed the garrison was reduced to the last extremity, summoned it to surrender, with threats of putting every soul he found in it to the sword if his offer was rejected. Fleuranges replied, that the proposition would at any time have been unbecoming; but that since he had received during the past night four thousand pounds of powder, which he much wanted, and four hundred bowmen, whose aid he could have dispensed with, it was ridiculous. Before the enemy could prepare for another assault, a large body of the army, which had been in Provence, was on the road to relieve the place; the imperial general was obliged hastily to decamp, and Fleuranges repaired to meet the king, now on his way home, and to receive the reward of his gallant defence. (*a*)

(*a*) Soon after this France lost in him one of the bravest champions. Upon the news of the death of his father, which

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The winter had now set in and put an end to the further continuance of the war. The emperor continued his flight, suffering at every step the most rigorous privations, which the daily losses of his army rendered still more bitter. In addition to his disasters by land, his fleet, returning from the recently discovered country of Peru, was attacked by some French privateers and taken, with its rich cargo. Francis returned to Paris to enjoy in repose the glories of his campaign and the congratulations of his people, and employed the leisure which was afforded him, in transmitting to the various European courts a detailed statement of the circumstances which had led to the late war, and its result; at the same time he renewed his offer to submit the cause of quarrel which subsisted between himself and the emperor, to the decision of the electoral princes of Germany.

Flanders, Artois, and Charolois declared to be re-annexed to the French crown.

Although the winter had suspended the warfare in Piedmont and Picardy, the presence of the enemy in both places left no room to doubt that it would be resumed as soon as the season would permit. Francis in the mean time adopted a proceeding which was in itself utterly vain and impotent; but which answered the only purpose for which it was resorted to, that of annoying the emperor personally, and of publicly testifying the French

happened at Sedan, he hurried to pay the last tribute of respect to his remains, but was attacked by a malignant fever at Longjumeau, which ended his days.

king's contempt for him. The counties of Flanders, Artois, and Charolois, although unquestionably the patrimonial estates of the emperor, had been held by him and his ancestors as fiefs of the French crown. By the several treaties of Madrid and Cambray, Francis had wholly relinquished whatever title he might as liege lord have had to them, and they had thenceforth become in name, as well as in fact, the independent property of the emperor. Under the double pretext that it was not competent for the king to alienate the possessions of the crown without the assent of the states, and that the emperor by declaring war had annulled the provisions of the treaty, those counties were now declared by the French jurists to have reverted to Francis. At a bed of justice which he held at the parliament in the beginning of this year, the king's advocate, Cappel, in a long speech, full of miserable sophistry, proved to the satisfaction of himself and his hearers, who were determined to be convinced, that the emperor as the vassal of Francis had incurred the forfeiture of these estates, and that they ought to be re-annexed to the crown. An absurd mockery of a legal proceeding was instituted; a herald repaired to the Low Country frontier, and there summoned Charles, who was in Spain, to answer the charge brought against him; and on his not replying to this notable accusation, of which he knew nothing, he was deprived by a sentence of the parliament of the three coun-

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Charles is summoned by the French parliament.

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ties, and they were declared to be once more united to the crown of France. Charles however remained in possession of them, and treated the summons and the sentence with no more regard than Francis had paid to his boasts and invectives.

Francis marches in person to Artois.

As soon as the spring had commenced, Francis took the field in person, and the partial skirmishing which had been of late kept up was changed for a more regular warfare. As the king had marched to Artois, that province became the principal seat of the war. Montmorenci assumed the command of the French army under Francis, and the counts de Roeux and de Buren jointly held that of the imperial forces. The king's first attempts were extremely successful. Having encamped his army, and established his head-quarters at Pernes, he took successively Hesdin, St. Pol, St. Venant, and Lillers. Of all these places St. Pol was, from its situation, the most important. Francis ordered it to be put into the best possible state of defence, and, in the reliance that his orders would be effectually executed, he broke up his camp, and withdrew to Piedmont. Before, however, the necessary repairs were completed, the count de Buren, who had learnt its exact situation from a prisoner whom he had taken, made a sudden attack, and, notwithstanding the gallant defence of the king's garrison, took and destroyed it before succours could arrive, and his lanz-knechts, by way of reprisal for the slaughter which the

The king's successes.

The imperialists retake St Pol.

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French had committed at St. Venant, put the whole of the inhabitants to the sword. The imperialists, flushed with this victory, which destroyed all the advantages that Francis had gained in Artois, marched to Therouenne, and invested the place. The dauphin and Montmorenci hurried to its relief, and upon their arrival found the garrison reduced to the last extremity for want of ammunition. They threw in supplies, but in a skirmish which took place in consequence, several of the most distinguished French officers who had chosen to go on this dangerous expedition, were made prisoners. The dauphin determined to compel the imperialists to raise the siege, even at the hazard of a general engagement; but before the necessary preparations for this step were completed, a truce was proposed on the part of the emperor, and agreed to by the king. The queen dowager of Hungary, Charles's sister, took upon herself this negociation. Commissioners were appointed on either side, who met at the village of Bomy, within two leagues of Therouenne, and on the 30th of July a suspension of the war, as regarded Picardy and the Low Countries, for a period of ten months, was finally concluded. (*a*)

Lays siege to Therouenne.

A truce agreed to through the intervention of the queen of Hungary.

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Although the war was by these means put an end to in the Low Country frontier, it was continued with great vigour on both sides in Piedmont. The Italian officers employed in the

The war in Piedmont.

(*a*) Mém de du Bellay, l. viii. Recueil de Traités, par Leonard, t. i.

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king's service, had conceived a jealousy of each other, which broke out in the most unseemly quarrels, and wholly prevented any useful undertaking; while the emperor's general, the marquis du Guast, availed himself of their dissensions to advance his master's cause. In order to prevent the consequences of this ill feeling among his partisans, Francis appointed d'Humières to the chief command of all his troops in Italy, and commissioned Langei, whose ability and discretion well qualified him for such an office, to bring about a reconciliation among the discontented captains. Langei found that all his efforts for that purpose, were unavailing, and he returned to Paris to inform the king, that, unless he sent a strong force with d'Humières, all his conquests in Piedmont must inevitably be wrested from him. The state of his army at this time prevented the king from following Langei's advice; but the result proved its value. The French were by degrees driven from their fortresses, and by the time that a force had arrived, which, if it had been sent earlier, would have sufficed to keep the country, d'Humières found the strength of the enemy so much increased that he was wholly unable to cope with him.

Death of the marquis of Saluzzo.

The castle of Carmagnole was the only place in the marquisate of Saluzzo which the French retained, and to this the marquis du Guast laid siege. The marquis of Saluzzo, who had betrayed the interests of Francis, was with him; and as he was one day pointing a cannon against

a place in the walls which he knew to be accessible, he was killed by a musket shot. After a defence, which the want of succours rendered ineffectual, the garrison capitulated. (*a*)

D'Humières established himself at Pignerol, which he strengthened, and made it his head-quarters; but although his presence stopped the further progress of du Guast on that side, he found it necessary to send an urgent request to the king for additional supplies. Francis replied that he would be with him, accompanied by a large force, before the end of October. The dauphin and the marshal Montmorenci set out for Lyons, with such troops as could be spared, for the purpose of forming, with the assistance of fifteen thousand recently levied Swiss, who were to join them there, an army which was to operate in Italy. Du Guast in the meantime pursued the advantage which his superior strength gave him, with great alacrity. D'Humières had strengthened, as well as he could, such places as were most obnoxious to attack; but

(*a*) It is said that the marquis du Guast, in his desire to avenge the death of Saluzzo, committed an act of detestable barbarity on this occasion, which leaves an indelible stain on his reputation. When he entered the citadel after the capitulation, he was loud in his commendations of the gallantry with which the defence had been kept up, and particularly inquired who had been stationed at a certain window which he pointed out. The soldier who had occupied that post avowed himself; when du Guast, suddenly changing his tone, exclaimed, "It was by your hand then that the brave marquis fell!" and ordered him to be immediately hanged at the same window.—Du Bellay, l. viii.

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the inconveniences of his position were much increased by the continual mutinies of the lanz-knechts, who formed the greater part of his army. He had no money to pay them with; they had demanded the charge of the artillery as a sort of security, and he was enforced to comply. Satisfied of the security of Pignerol, he had withdrawn from it, with a view of carrying on the warfare in another part of the country, and of making it as defensive as was practicable; but the lanz-knechts insisted on returning to that place. D'Humières represented to them that it would always be a place of certain and safe retreat; but that to go thither, and exhaust the provisions which it contained at this time, would be extremely injudicious, and hurtful to the king's cause. They were deaf to his remonstrances; promised great caution and sobriety in the use of the supplies, and at length the general found himself compelled to return. (a) The consequence was, that he was unable to render any assistance to the places which du Guast attacked. Quiers, Alba, and Quieras were taken, and Turin reduced to such extreme distress, that nothing but the most resolute and heroic defence on the part of the garri-

Successes of the imperialists, and distress of the French.

(a) The mutinies and intractability of the Germans were principally fomented by Hans Ludovic, one of their principal leaders, who, among other offences, had on one occasion the insolence to draw his sword upon d'Humières. The general did not venture then to bring him to punishment; but when affairs were more tranquil, he was tried at Lyons, and suffered decapitation, according to his sentence.

son could have saved it. (a) The activity and intelligence of Langei at this time served Francis's interests more effectually than the most brilliant exploits of his generals. He traversed a country which was beset on all sides by his enemies, and partly by address and ingenuity, partly by means of that reputation which he had deservedly gained, he succeeded in conveying a supply of money to the famishing and destitute garrison of Turin, together with the assurance of a prompt relief.

The king arrives at Lyons.

The king arrived in person at Lyons on the 6th of October, and his army being by this time collected, he prepared to march into Italy. Du Guast had begun the siege of Pignerol, and pressed it with great vigour; but hearing of the king's approach, he determined to attempt to stop his march. He dispatched, with this view, ten thousand men under the command of Cesare da Napoli, to the Pas de Suze—the passage which Francis was most likely to take—threw up some intrenchments in a place, the natural position of which was highly favourable for defence, and devastated the whole of

Pignerol is besieged by du Guast.

He fortifies the Pas de Suse to dispute the king's passage.

(a) The horses, the rats, and even such kind of aliment which at other times inspires disgust to think of, had been consumed, and yet the garrison held out. The author of the *Chronique de Savoye* describes their defence with great power. "Ainsi demeurèrent plusieurs jours comme désespérés de leurs vies; toutes fois ne se voulurent jamais rendre, aimant mieux là mourir comme chiens attachés, que de perdre une demi heure d'honneur, et de ne faire le devoir que requéroit leur fidelité."

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the adjacent country, calculating, judiciously enough, that if he could prevent the arrival of the French succours for a short time, the approaching winter would do the rest, and that all Piedmont must then be in his power. Francis was informed of his proceedings, and determined to force the passage. The dauphin and Montmorenci marched with the vanguard of the army, and found the enemy waiting for them in intrenchments. Montmorenci, who saw that to attack them in front would be a lengthened and almost hopeless affair, conceived the scheme of placing a part of his troops on the heights which commanded the intrenchments. Having arranged his plan with the dauphin, the German foot, led by the count de Furstemberg, climbed the almost precipitous rocks on one side, while the Gascon harquebussiers gained those on the left. This movement was performed in the night-time, and with so much silence, that the enemy was not apprized of their intentions until the day-light discovered them ready for the attack. While Montmorenci and the dauphin then assailed the intrenchment in the front, the musketry from the heights opened a galling and destructive fire on the imperialists, against which they were wholly without defence. It was impossible to resist this well-concerted assault; the intrenchments that had been thought inaccessible, were abandoned; the imperialists fled so precipitately that they had not time to secure their baggage, which was in the town of

Montmorenci forces the passage.

Suze; and if Montmorenci had been provided with cavalry, they must have suffered miserably in the pursuit. As it was, he made himself master of the town and fortress, and having placed a garrison there for the preservation of the passage in future, descended to the flat country to await the arrival of the king.

The siege of Pignerol is raised, and Turin relieved by the French.

Du Guast, as soon as he had learnt that the Pas de Suze had been forced, thought it advisable to raise the siege of Pignerol, the garrison of which place was reduced by famine to such distress, that they could not have held out many days longer. He withdrew towards Turin, and was so hotly pursued by the dauphin, that he was compelled at length to take refuge under the guns of Ast. The large collection of provisions which he had made, fell into the hands of the dauphin, who also took Moncalier, and several other small fortresses which the imperialists had held, relieved Turin, strengthened the garrison, and victualled it with more than a year's consumption. (*a*)

The truce is extended to Piedmont.

Francis advanced in the mean time at more leisure, and having reached Briançon, he was joined by his son and Montmorenci, when a council was held, in which it was resolved to attack Vulpiano and Quiers. This determination was, however, suspended by the arrival of a courier, who brought the news of a truce having been concluded for a period of three months. The queen of Hungary, on the conclusion of

(*a*) Mém. de du Bellay, l. viii. Belcar., l. xxii.

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the truce, which had been agreed to as regarded Picardy, had induced Francis to send Velly to treat for a more extensive peace, and the emperor had commissioned a plenipotentiary for the same purpose. The several envoys had met at Monçon, in Arragon, and had speedily settled the conditions of a truce which was to include Piedmont, Savoy, the county of Nice, Dauphiny, Provence, and the republic of Genoa. Each party was to remain in possession of what they had severally acquired, and to withdraw their armies, leaving only garrisons in their fortresses.

Negociations for a peace.

The exhausting effects of the fruitless war which had been carried on, were so sensibly felt on either side, that the prospect of peace was gladly welcomed. The treaty was concluded
1537. by the envoys at Monçon on the 16th of November, and by the 28th of the same month, the maréchal de Montmorenci and the marquis du Guast, who had met at Carmagnole for that purpose, had arranged all the particulars for its execution, and it was published. The king, whose presence was now no longer desirable in Piedmont, returned to Paris, having first disbanded his Swiss regiments, entrusted to Montejan the general command of his troops beyond the Alps, committed the government of Turin to Langei, and dispatched the cardinal de Lorraine and the maréchal de Montmorenci, as his ministers, to meet the emperor's envoys at Leucate, on the Spanish frontier, for the purpose

of arranging a lasting peace, of which the truce was considered as the prelude.

Francis treats with the Turkish emperor.

Desirable as the proposed cessation of arms was to Francis, there was one of his allies whose acquiescence he ought to have obtained before he engaged in it. This was the emperor of the Turks. Although in his own day, it suited the purposes of his enemies to reproach the king with having degraded the dignity of a Christian monarch, by entering into an alliance with infidels, the obvious grounds of policy which had compelled him to that measure formed a sufficient excuse for it; and, if he had needed a precedent to justify his conduct, he might have found one in the treaties which Alexander VI. and Ludovico Sforza had made with the Ottoman power—although neither the example of such a Pope, nor of such a duke of Milan, were to be in all things implicitly followed—and in that to which the necessities of his state had more recently forced the vaivode of Transylvania. But the urgent motive of the treaty which Francis had made with Solyman, is its best, and only true excuse. He was surrounded by dangerous and treacherous foes, of whom the emperor was the first, and he had been too long exposed to their calumnies to shrink from those to which he was aware his new alliance might give rise. He knew, besides, that his rival aimed at nothing less than to deprive him of his realm and his kingly power; he had heard his threats, and seen his attempt to put those

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threats into practice; they had met with a disgraceful failure; but common prudence, to say nothing of that natural desire to retaliate, which he must have felt, counselled him to strengthen his arms for future operations, and he therefore accepted the generous offers of co-operation which Solyman made him. The affair was negociated and concluded by Jean de la Forêt, on the part of Francis, and of Seraphino Gozio, of Ragusa, Solyman's minister, at the close of the year 1536. It was stipulated, that Francis should commence the campaign in the ensuing season by an attack on the Milanese, while Solyman should make a descent on the Neapolitan coast, and at the same time continue in Hungary the war he had begun against the emperor's brother, the king of the Romans. Solyman performed, to the letter, every article for which he had engaged; while Francis, to the utter neglect of his own and their common interests, violated his engagement, and failed to strike a single blow in support of his ally. Solyman's admiral, Barbarossa, landed on the Neapolitan coast; took Castro, near Tarento; penetrated into the country, doing a great deal of mischief, and returned, unhurt, to his ships, with an immense booty and a quantity of captives. Solyman, in person, at the same time encountered Ferdinand's army, near Essek, in Hungary, where he defeated them with immense slaughter. If Francis had begun the campaign, pursuant to his engagement in the Mi-

lanese, these victories must have operated powerfully in his favour; but, under the vain pretext of executing the sentence of his own parliament, respecting Artois and Flanders, he chose to direct his operations on that side, and Solyman had as much reason to complain of his ill-faith, as he, his interests wisely considered, had to regret it. His agreeing to the truce with the emperor, aggravated his offence against his Turkish ally, and raised the indignation of the latter to so high a pitch, that nothing could appease it; while the states of Germany loudly expressed their discontent at his having promised to assist the army of their enemies, the Turks, although that promise had been in no respect fulfilled.

Conferences for a peace.

The negociations at Leucate were begun in December. The emperor sent his chancellor Granvella, and don Francisco de Los Cobos, the grand commander of Leon, and the duke of Savoy commissioned the counts de Chalant and Mazin to meet the French plenipotentiaries. Of the contracting parties the duke was the most sincere in his desire for peace, his territory having become the seat of the war, and being in no less danger from the emperor, who protected, than from the king of France, who assailed him. The ministers of the emperor and the duke combined in proposing to the French envoys that the duke of Orleans should marry the eldest daughter of the king of the Romans, the emperor's niece, who was to receive the duchy of Milan as her dowry,

Terms proposed on the emperor's part.

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on condition that the treaties of Madrid and Cambray were punctually fulfilled; that Francis should give up to the duke of Savoy all that he had taken from him, and indemnify him for the past charges of the war; that he should restore Hesdin, with its artillery and munitions of war; that he should concur in the convocation of a general council, and give effect in his own kingdom to what should there be decreed; that he should contribute to an universal war by all Christendom against the Turk; that he should renounce any treaty he might have made with the states of Germany, which were prejudicial to the house of Austria; and that as a guarantee for the observance of these several articles, he should consent to the duke of Orleans remaining for three years after his marriage at the court of the emperor; or that the emperor should retain possession during the same period of the fortresses of Milan.

Francis's reply.

These articles were transmitted to Francis, who, with the advice of his council, replied to them in the following terms: That although he had an indefeasible right to the duchy of Milan, independently of any proposition for his son's marriage, he would willingly accept it as the dowry of the emperor's niece: that he was prepared to perform the treaties of Madrid and Cambray, in all such particulars as lay within his power, and that he was ready to submit all points in difference respecting them to the arbitration of the Pope: that he was willing to give up all he had

taken from the duke of Savoy, on the emperor's evacuating the Milanese fortresses; but that until all these things should be done, there was no pretence for requiring the French troops to quit either Hesdin or the places they had won in Savoy: that his duty as a Christian prince, required him to conform to the decrees of a general council, and to aid in its convocation whenever the interests of the church required it, and that this therefore ought not to be an article of the treaty: that the same reason applied to the proposed war against the Turks; and that he was willing to settle this matter with the Pope and the Venetian state: that if peace should be concluded between himself and the emperor, whatever leagues he might have entered into in Germany would at once be at an end, and that for this reason they need not be the subject of a stipulation in the proposed treaty.

The congress is broken up.

The differences which ensued on the points in dispute, gave rise to lengthened conferences, the only immediate result of which was that the truce was prolonged to the 1st of June, and for the present the congress was broken up. The French ministers returned to give an account of their proceedings to Francis, whom they found at Moulins; and it was here, in the very estates of the ill-fated duke of Bourbon, that the king conferred upon Montmorenci, as the well-earned reward of his services, the dignity of constable, which had remained vacant ever since Bourbon had been deprived of it. Montejan at the same

Montmorenci is made constable of France.

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time received the bâton which Montmorenci exchanged for the sword of France; and d'Annebaut that of the late maréchal de Fleuranges.

The Pope interferes to effect a peace.

The Pope, who had nearly at heart two projects, the convocation of a council and a crusade against the Turks, neither of which could be effected without the pacification of Francis and Charles, resolved to endeavour to renew the treaty which appeared to be broken off. He proposed to the two monarchs to meet him at some neutral point on the frontier of Provence. It would have been easy to reject such an offer if the parties had not been, on both sides, well disposed to the peace which was avowedly its object; it was, however, accepted, with abundance of external respect for the pious and benevolent motives which were supposed to induce a sovereign pontiff, at the age of seventy, to make so long a journey.

Nice is fixed on for an interview between the monarchs.

Some difficulty was at first experienced as to the place at which the interview should take place. His holiness had fixed on Nice as a spot to which he imagined there could be no objection; but, although there was none in fact on the part either of the king or the emperor, the duke of Savoy was disinclined to give up, although but for a short time, the only place of security in all his dominions that the late war had left him. The Pope had sent his chamberlain to request that the castle might be lent to him, and, not anticipating a refusal, had advanced as far as Monaco on his way, when the

The duke of Savoy's discontent.

duke sent his officer back to say, that he could do nothing without first consulting the emperor. He sent, at the same time, an urgent request to Charles that he might not be called upon to surrender his castle, and that some other place might be fixed upon for the interview. The emperor was met by the messenger at Villa Franca, on his way to Nice, and he advised, in the tone of one whose advice is a command, that the duke should comply with the Pope's proposal. The duke felt obliged to seem to obey, but the people and the soldiers in the garrison, who knew how unpalatable this visit was to their sovereign, complained of it loudly. They said, that the emperor's intention was evidently to reduce the duke from the condition of an independent monarch to that of one of his courtiers; hinted that he wanted to secure the person of the prince of Piedmont, the duke's son; that the Pope was a party to the scheme: and proceeded to such lengths that it seemed unsafe for his holiness to enter the city at this time of excitement. The soldiers went even further, and refused to quit the castle, under the pretence that it was one of their privileges to keep the guard there, and not to permit any other troops to enter. The Pope, who found things in this state on his arrival, was obliged to take up his abode in the convent of St. Francis, in the neighbourhood of Nice.

The emissaries of France thought this a favourable opportunity for attempting to with-

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draw the duke from the emperor's alliance, and Montmorenci sent the vicomte de Martigues, the bishop of Lausanne, and the baron de Menthon, to confirm him in his determination not to admit the Pope, and to persuade him to accept the protection of the French king, who would recompense him for all he had lost, and who, the duke's late wife being dead, would provide him a suitable marriage in France, which might knit them in a closer alliance. Although the duke had little cause to love the emperor, he had such cogent reasons for fearing him, that he dared not listen to this proposal. He replied, that he had no intention of marrying again; that his son was too young to do so; but that if the king would reinstate him in his dominions, he might rely on his eternal gratitude. Francis had paid too dearly for the advantages he had gained in Savoy to give them up for the fair words of a man whom he knew was not to be trusted; and the only effect of the negociation was, that the emperor, who was apprized of it, thought fit to treat the duke with somewhat more consideration, since he saw that he was not wholly without resources, and abandoned a project he had formed of punishing the refractory garrison of Nice for their too faithful adherence to their sovereign.

The king and the emperor arrive at Nice.

Francis, who if he had consulted his personal feelings alone, would have willingly dispensed with this negociation, felt that he could not avoid it under any handsome pretext. Ac-

companied by his queen, who was naturally desirous of seeing her brother, he took up his abode at Villa Nova, within a quarter of a league of Nice, while the emperor remained at Villa Franca. The rival monarchs did not visit each other; but the Pope employed himself in continual negociations with each of them, and submitted various propositions, all of which went off on the insurmountably difficult point of the restitution of the Milanese. Despairing of bringing them to agree to a final peace, he proposed a lengthened truce, which might afford time for removing all the obstacles which were at present in the way of their accordance, and which would enable him to carry into execution the offensive league he had formed with the emperor and the state of Venice against the Turks.

A peace is found to be impracticable, but a truce is agreed on.

The Pope, in anticipation of the difficulties he had to encounter, had formed this project at Rome, and had communicated it before he commenced his journey to the French ambassadors, who unanimously disapproved of it. They advised the king to conclude the war in no other way than by a full and unqualified peace. The bishop of Rhodes drew out a long statement of the grounds upon which the constable Montmorenci had particularly urged this advice to the king, and which was in every point consistent with what the political aspect of the times required. He represented that the certain and immediate effect of this treaty must be to cause a rupture with Solyman, who was

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already, and with good reason, highly irritated at Francis having failed him in the preceding year, and that it might also induce him to make peace with the emperor and the Venetians, in which case Charles would become much less tractable than ever: that if, on the other hand, the emperor should succeed in the threatened war against the Turks, the chance of pacification would become still more remote: that even if Francis should be unable or unwilling to carry on the war on an extensive scale in Italy, he could compel his enemy to be at great charges, and to keep a large army constantly there: that there were negociations then actually pending for the surrender of the citadels of Lodi and Pavia in the Milanese, and for dispossessing the king of the Romans of Gradisca and Goritia in Friuli; which enterprises, if they should succeed, as there was every reason to believe they would, must so embarrass the emperor that he would be content to accept peace upon any terms that France should propose. Francis knew the value of this advice, but his fears of disobliging the Pope, joined to the clamours for peace which his wife (although her influence was not of great weight) and his courtiers were constantly raising, induced him to disregard it, and to consent to a truce for ten years, during which time things were to remain in their present state, and the treaty to this effect was signed in the convent of St. Francis on the 18th of June. The two monarchs at the same time promised

The treaty is signed.

to send ambassadors to Rome, with full power, to treat at their leisure for a final peace. (*a*)

The queen of France visits the emperor.

Although Francis had not seen the emperor, his sister, the queen Eleanora, had paid him a visit at Villa Franca, on which occasion they were both in considerable danger. She travelled thither by water, and found on her arrival that a wooden pier of about fifty paces in length had been constructed for the convenience of her landing. The emperor, who came to receive her as she quitted her galley, was walking with her along this pier, when it suddenly broke and precipitated them with several of their attendants into the water, where, but for the prompt assistance they received, they must inevitably have been drowned.

The duke of Savoy unwillingly confirms the treaty.

The duke of Savoy, who was deeply interested in the treaty that had been made, was left wholly without redress or provision. His dominions were to remain in the power of the two conquerors during the ten years which had been stipulated for, and he was called upon to ratify this treaty, which, notwithstanding his reluctance and his vehement remonstrances, he was compelled to do in the very terms which were dictated to him. On the one hand, he saw the king's officers fortifying the places they had taken from him, and making every practicable arrangement to prevent their ever again falling into his power; and on the other,

(*a*) Mém. de du Bellay, l. viii. Belcar., l. xxii. Le P. Daniel, t. vii.

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he saw the emperor's garrisons employed in similar designs at all the other fortresses of his duchy. He had even the mortification of receiving a proposition from Francis, that he should cede to him the county of Nice, upon receiving a territory of equal extent and value in France. He indignantly rejected the offer, and vowed to live and die at least count of Nice. In pursuance of this determination, and as an expression rather of his wish to be avenged on his enemies than of his power to effect that wish, he adopted the device of a bare arm grasping a sword, with the motto, *Spoliatis arma supersunt;* but he was either not desperate enough, or not courageous enough, to execute the threat which the legend implied. (*a*)

Interview between Francis and Charles at Aigues Mortes.

After the treaty had been concluded, Francis set out on his way to Paris; the Pope for Rome; and the emperor embarked for Barcelona. When Francis had reached Avignon, he received a messenger from the emperor, who informed him that Charles had been prevented by contrary winds from pursuing his voyage, and that he was desirous of having an interview with Francis; for which purpose, if the king consented, he would land at Aigues Mortes. Francis readily complied, and repaired to the spot which had been mentioned, when the monarchs met, with all the outward appearance of perfect cordiality. The emperor upon his

(*a*) Guichenon, Hist. de Savoie.

landing was entertained by the French king with a magnificent banquet, and Francis on the following day paid him a visit on board his own galley, (*a*) where they had a long conference, the subject of which was not made public, and which, whatever it might be, produced no other result than that of increasing the alarm of the duke of Savoy.

(*a*) Brantome, who follows in this respect the account of Paulus Jovius, says, the emperor requested that Francis would permit Andrea Doria to pay his respects to him; that Francis consented, and said to the Genoese, "Now that my brother, the emperor, and I are reconciled, our friendship should be eternal, and from this moment we should have the same friends and the same enemies. We ought to prepare a powerful naval expedition against the Turks, to be commanded by you." He mentions a report, that Doria advised the emperor to weigh his anchor and sail away with the king; but adds, that if this counsel was ever given, which seems doubtful, Charles knew better than to follow it. —Brantome. Capit. Etrang. Doria.

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*Francis's illness—The Emperor requests permission to pass through France—which Francis grants—The Emperor arrives—promises the investiture of the Milanese—and breaks his promise—Endeavours to withdraw from Francis his allies—Francis dispatches Ministers to Venice and Constantinople—They are assassinated by the procurement of the Marquis du Guast—Francis declares war against the Emperor—Disgrace of Montmorenci and Brion—The Chancellor Poyet is deprived of his office—Francis prepares for a campaign—Resolves to attack Roussillon and Luxemburg—Charles's unsuccessful expedition to Algiers—War in Luxemburg—Siege of Perpignan—The King releases the Spanish prisoners—War in Piedmont—Death of Langei—Attempts upon Turin defeated.*

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1538. Francis's illness.

Upon his return to his own dominions, Francis was attacked by an illness of so violent a character that his life was for some time despaired of, and although he recovered in a great degree, the consequences of his malady were ever afterwards apparent in the melancholy and peevish temper which took the place of the gaiety and good humour for which he had previously been remarkable. (*a*) He was in a state of very slow convalescence when ambassadors arrived at Compeigne from Spain, who renewed the offers of the investiture of the Milanese, and made a singular request to the French king on the part of the emperor.

The emperor requests per-

Charles's Low Country possessions formed a very considerable portion of his means for carry-

(*a*) The disease at first baffled all such skill as the physicians of France then possessed, and it was not until some time afterwards that its real cause was discovered. It was then ascertained to be that frightful scourge to humanity which is said to have been one of the consequences of the discovery of America. The malady, although it was in some measure got under for the present, ultimately cost Francis his life, and is said to have been contracted by him in an adulterous intercourse with a woman, who was known by the appellation of "la belle Feronière," and whose husband had risked his own life for the purpose of inflicting this extraordinary vengeance on the persons who had dishonoured him.—Appendix, No. IX.

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mission to pass through France.

ing on the wars in which he had been engaged. Besides the troops with which the Flemings willingly furnished him, pecuniary levies were from time to time made upon them, which they had hitherto paid, if not cheerfully, at least without any serious murmurs. The expenses of the late war had compelled the emperor once more to call upon them: the queen dowager of Hungary, who governed Flanders in his name, had directed a subsidy of one million two hundred thousand florins, to be raised, of which the proportion to be furnished by the city of Ghent amounted to four hundred thousand. The inhabitants of the latter city who had become wealthy, and who fancied they were independent, remonstrated against this tax, alleged that their ancient privileges exempted them from the payment, and ultimately carried their opposition so far as to break into open revolt. They drove away from their town the emperor's ministers, seized the strong places in the neighbourhood, and availing themselves, because it served their present position, of the claim which Francis had recently preferred to the feudal sovereignty of Flanders, sent envoys to him offering to submit themselves to his domination if he would protect them against the vengeance which they had provoked from the emperor Francis's conduct upon this occasion, whatever might be the policy which prompted it, was highly magnanimous. He not only rejected their proposition, but communicated it to Charles. The

emperor saw it was necessary to take immediate steps for reducing his rebellious subjects, and believing that this could only be done effectually by himself in person, he determined to repair to the Low Countries. There were three routes by which he might arrive thither, but each of them presented serious obstacles. If he went by sea he had much to fear from the ships of the English king, who had declared himself his mortal foe, in consequence of the part which Charles had taken in favour of his aunt, respecting Henry's divorce from her. The power of the protestant princes of Germany rendered it impossible for him to traverse Germany without a large army, which would occasion great delay, and give time to the people of Ghent to obtain such assistance as might frustrate the object of his journey. The road through France was short, and in all respects convenient; but his late conduct towards the king had given him no reason for thinking that he would be permitted to avail himself of it. The profound knowledge of the characters of men which Charles possessed, was never more remarkably displayed than on this occasion. He determined to request (and believed that such an appeal to his rival's generosity would be successful) a safe-conduct from Francis; the event proved the wisdom of his choice; he readily obtained the permission he sought, and relied upon it unhesitatingly.

Francis, either believing that he should ob-

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Francis grants him a safe-conduct.

tain from the emperor's sense of justice the possession of the Milanese which he so earnestly desired, or that a general peace might be effected between them, or feeling perhaps that his own honour required him to take no advantage of the difficulties which his enemy laboured under, invited him, as soon as he was informed of his wishes, to travel through France, and sent the dauphin and the duke of Orleans (being himself unable by reason of his illness to make so long a journey) to receive him at Bayonne, and to conduct him on his journey. He rejected the advice which was proposed in council, to extort from Charles securities for the promised investiture, and even offered that the dauphin should remain in Spain as an hostage until the emperor should have safely arrived at the place of his destination. Charles had the good taste not to accept this offer, (*a*) and with no other safe-guard than Francis's mere word, entered that country as a peaceful and permitted visitor, which he had so lately assailed as a hostile invader. (*b*)

(*a*) Sleidan, l. xii. Belcar., l. xxii. Du Bellay, l. viii.

(*b*) Triboulet, who was the king's jester, kept a list of names which he called "the chronicle of madmen," and in which he inscribed all those persons who committed any notable absurdity, for the avowed purpose of proving that he was not the only fool in the world. As soon as the news of the emperor's proposed journey reached him, he entered Charles's name upon his list, and shewed it to Francis. "But what will you say if I let him pass in safety?" asked the king; "then," replied Triboulet, "I shall strike out his name and put yours in its place."

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1539. The emperor arrives.

Francis, as soon as his health permitted him, came to meet the emperor at Chatelleraud, where he received him with great magnificence, and accompanied him to Paris. His progress was every where marked with the utmost splendour; he was entertained with fêtes at every city through which he passed, and his visit was rendered highly popular by being made the occasion for delivering the gaols of the prisoners. Charles, who knew how little he deserved the cordial reception that awaited him, was not without some alarm for his personal safety, and, notwithstanding his profound dissimulation, he could not help occasionally testifying his fears. Some circumstances happened, which, although purely accidental, were calculated to excite suspicion in the mind of one who had so often and so shamelessly practised the grossest deceptions. At Amboise his lodgings took fire, and his life was in danger.—When the chancellor Poyet was paying his respects to him at Paris, his sleeve caught a log of wood, which he clumsily tumbled on the emperor's head, with so much violence, as to inflict on him a sharp wound. The duke of Orleans, who was remarkably active, and full of the buoyant spirits which belong to his time of life, one day leapt on the crupper of the horse the emperor was riding, and, grasping his arms tightly, called out, "Your majesty is my prisoner." Charles almost immediately perceived that it was a jest; but he betrayed the momen-

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tary alarm it had occasioned him, by turning very pale.

Upon another occasion, he not only displayed greater presence of mind, but effectually removed the cause of his fears, which had then a much more substantial foundation. The influence of the duchess d'Etampes appeared to have increased with Francis's advancing years and multiplied infirmities; and she was suspected to be, as all such women in courts must be, the instrument of political intrigues, which, although she had not sense enough to devise or even to understand, she had vanity and malice enough to find pleasure in setting in operation. She had suggested to Francis the advantage of seizing Charles's person, and making the condition of his release the compliance with the king's claims on the Milanese. Francis, although he was weak enough to indulge the duchess in all the merely feminine caprices and extravagancies which her changing fancy suggested, scorned this proposition too much to give it a second thought, and rejected it in such a manner as convinced his mistress there might be some danger in her renewing it. The emperor was shortly afterwards at a court entertainment, when Francis introduced him to the duchess, and with that gay frankness which always distinguished him, he added, "This fair lady advises me, brother, not to let you quit Paris until you have cancelled the treaty of Madrid." Charles paused a moment, and re-

plied gravely, "A lady's advice should always be taken—provided it is good." The conversation was then turned to some other subject; but Charles feared, that although Francis had no present intention of forfeiting his pledge, he might at some time be induced to yield to the suggestions of his mistress; and in this suspicion he saw at once all the danger of his position. On the following day, as he was about to take his place at table, water was brought to him to wash his hands, and the duchess d'Etampes presented him with the napkin, a mark of politeness then extremely common. Charles drew from his finger a ring of great value, and purposely let it fall at her feet. She picked it up, and offered it to the emperor, who begged her to accept it for his sake. The hint was not lost upon the lady, who appears thenceforward to have determined, that if she was to betray the interests of her king, she might as well do it in favour of one whose bribes were of so magnificent a kind. (*a*)

Charles promises the investiture of the Milanese.

After a residence of eight days at Paris, Charles continued his journey to Flanders. The two princes and the constable accompanied him to Valenciennes, and there the constable reminded him of his promise, and requested him to appoint some time for its fulfilment. The emperor replied, that it was necessary to confer with his council, and that the affairs of Ghent at present required his first attention. That

(*a*) Sleidan, l. xii.

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finished, however, he assured him that his first care should be to arrange the investiture of the Milanese to the king's satisfaction. With this answer, the constable was obliged to return. Charles had only to shew himself, to reduce the people of Ghent, whom he treated with great rigour; and when the bishop of Lavaur, who had remained with him, again demanded on the part of Francis the promised investiture, the emperor shamelessly replied, that he had made no promise, and had no intention of complying with the king's request.

and breaks his promise.

Endeavours to withdraw from Francis his allies.

Disgraceful as the conduct of Charles was confessed to be on all hands, Francis's reputation for political wisdom suffered by the result, and there were more persons found to blame his credulity than to praise the generous confidence he had placed in the emperor's plighted word. The consequences of Charles's passage were still more injurious to the French monarch, than these censures of misjudging men. The king of England believed he saw in it a disposition to an alliance between those two sovereigns, which could not be otherwise than hostile to his interests, and the emperor put in practice all possible contrivances to increase Henry's suspicions. The Ottoman emperor too, who had before good reason for doubting Francis's sincerity, now thought those doubts were confirmed, as well by the emperor's amicable journey through France, as by Francis's conduct respecting the Venetians. The council of the latter state, finding

that the Turks were more dangerous enemies than Charles was either a faithful or serviceable ally, had determined to effect a treaty with Solyman. Charles saw this with well-grounded alarm, and induced Francis to permit the maréchal d'Annebaut to accompany the marquis du Guast to Venice, to assure the state of their perfect amity, and to endeavour to engage them in a common league against the infidels. The sagacious councillors of the republic were more cautious than the French monarch. They replied to the emperor's envoy, that they knew there could be no real friendship between his master and Francis, unless the Milanese were ceded to the latter; and they, therefore, asked if this had been done. Du Guast could not say that it had; his reasonings were all in vain; and the Venetians concluded a truce with Solyman, which was afterwards ratified by a treaty of peace. (*a*) May, 1540.

1541. Francis dispatches ministers to Venice and Constantinople.

This event opened Francis's eyes to the true position in which the emperor's duplicity had placed him, and he resolved immediately to restore himself as much as possible in the opinion of Solyman and the Venetian state, by a full explanation of all that had passed between himself and Charles. He dispatched Cæsar Fregosa, an officer who had distinguished himself in the Piedmontese campaign, and Antoine Rincon, one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, and both of them possessing and deserving his confidence; the first on an embassy to Ve-

(*a*) Sleid., l. xii. Du Bellay, . viii.

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nice, and the latter to Constantinople. They were to travel together to Venice, and as Rincon, who was extremely corpulent, could not conveniently ride on horseback, it was settled that they should proceed along the course of the Po.

Who are assassinated by the procurement of the marquis du Guast.

Langei was at this time the king's governor in Piedmont, where his vigilance and activity enabled him to penetrate a detestable scheme which the marquis du Guast had formed for the destruction of these ambassadors. As soon as Langei learnt that they had crossed the Alps, he despatched a messenger, desiring them to wait for him at Rivoli, whither he hastened with a strong escort. He then informed them that assassins, hired by du Guast, had been stationed on the river, for the purpose of intercepting them; and that although his main object was to get possession of their dispatches, their death was also determined on, for the purpose of concealing the former crime. Langei assured them, that their only chance of safety consisted in their performing the journey by land, at the same time offering them such an escort as would insure their safety, if they consented to adopt that course. His advice was rejected, the ambassadors, with a fatal pertinacity, insisted upon making their journey by the river, and it was with great difficulty that he prevailed upon them to leave with him their secret despatches, which he promised to transmit to Venice by a safe hand.

Fregosa and Rincon embarked with their suite on board two boats, which Langei had provided them; and although they had affected not to heed his representation of the danger that awaited them, they so far acted upon it, as to give orders to their rowers to proceed with all possible rapidity during the whole of the first night. On the following day, they had just come in sight of the mouth of the Ticino, when they were pursued and attacked by two boats filled with soldiers of the garrison of Pavia. The ambassador's boat was instantly separated from that which followed, and was boarded by the soldiers. Fregosa and Rincon offered a gallant but vain resistance. They were overpowered by numbers and massacred. All the other persons on board were made prisoners, and, together with the men who rowed the boats of the assassins, were lodged in a dungeon of the citadel of Pavia, in order to stifle all evidence as to the persons by whom this crime had been committed.

The boat, however, which had contained the ambassador's suite, had at the commencement of the attack, made for and reached the opposite shore, where the persons who had been on board landed and escaped in safety. From their statements, and from those of the boatmen, whose liberation from the prison of Pavia Langei contrived to procure, he collected such proof as effectually convicted du Guast of having planned and perpetrated this execrable crime.

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For the present he kept his discovery secret, and even permitted du Guast to fancy that he had imposed upon him by the vehement protestations which he made of his own innocence, and his detestation of the authors of the murder. (*a*)

The motive which had induced du Guast having failed of its accomplishment, by the precaution of Langei, in possessing himself of the king's dispatches, the ministers of the emperor resorted to a contrivance which was worthy of them and of their master. They gave out that some fishermen on the Po had found the packets of the murdered ambassadors, in which were their dispatches, and a key to the cypher in which they were written; and a set of supposititious papers which had been framed by the emperor's agents, were then published as the genuine dispatches, throughout Europe. That which, it was said, had been addressed to the state of Venice, disclosed a design on the part of France and the republic, to partition all the imperial domains in Italy; and that with which the ill-fated Rincon was supposed to have been entrusted, offered, on the part of Francis, to assist Solyman in the conquest of all Germany. Falsehoods more gross could not be conceived, but they had, to a certain extent, the effect which the emperor had calculated upon, and rendered Francis suspected by several of the European powers.

(*a*) Du Bellay, l. ix.

The republic of Venice, on whose possessions the murder had been committed, caused some of the assassins to be arrested; they were recognised to be in the service of du Guast, and were publicly tried and executed, without his making any offer either to save them if they were innocent, or to insure their punishment if they were guilty, although his honour was deeply concerned in either case. Soon afterwards, Langei's proofs of his guilt being complete, he openly denounced him, first to the emperor his master, and afterwards to the diet of the German states, held at Ratisbon. Du Guast denied the charge; but the overwhelming evidence which Langei possessed, could not be disproved, and the imperial general resorted to the common expedient of challenging his accuser.

1541. Francis declares war against the emperor.

Francis's indignation at this violation of rights which among nations are considered the most sacred, knew no bounds. He determined upon taking vengeance, and the only means of accomplishing it, was by making war. Some of his council suggested to him the necessity of deferring his intentions until he had insured their success by completing his foreign treaties, and finishing his domestic preparations; but his old impetuosity was again displayed, and he insisted upon an immediate attack. He was advised also to give no formal announcement of his designs, but to make his first blow an effectual one, by seizing all that lay within his reach in Piedmont. Francis, however, preferred the accustomed manner of declaring war—by his

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herald, which was performed with the usual ceremonies, in the month of May, and he prepared to follow it up by actual hostilities.

Disgrace of Montmorenci and Brion.

At this time, when he was as much in want of the assistance of the ablest men in his kingdom as at any period of his reign, Francis had, for reasons, which if they were ever sufficient, are now very imperfectly known, willingly deprived himself of the services of Montmorenci and Brion.

Montmorenci's disgrace was attributed to the disappointment which had ensued on Charles's breaking the promise he had made when he visited France, and the constable was blamed for having advised the king not to insist on a written engagement from him respecting the Milanese, but to rest satisfied with his verbal promise. Considering however the utter recklessness with which Charles violated his most solemn compacts whenever his interests prompted him, it is hardly possible to believe that Francis would have visited upon the constable so severe a punishment for such a fault, which was merely presumptive, and in which, whatever might be its culpability, he was at least an equal sharer. A much more probable cause presents itself in the animosity of the duchess d'Etampes against the constable, and in the mischievous power which she now exercised over Francis.

A very sincere attachment had long subsisted between the dauphin and the constable The young prince had made his first essay in arms under Montmorenci's auspices, and the

grateful respect which he had conceived for him became stronger as he was better able to appreciate his valuable qualities. Francis grew jealous, as well of his son's affection for Montmorenci as of his increasing popularity, and the duchess d'Etampes had personal reasons for fomenting the king's displeasure. The celebrated Diane de Poictiers, who, although much older than the dauphin, possessed his affections, was in a certain degree the rival of the duchess, and some quarrels had ensued between them, in which Montmorenci's regard for his pupil had induced him to espouse the side of the former. There were other rea ons which must have induced any man of sense to prefer the generous and accomplished Diane to the vain, imperious, and sordid duchess; and Montmorenci, who despised as much as he disliked her, did not hesitate to expose himself to her resentment. The result proved that enemies the most deserving of contempt are not always the least dangerous. Montmorenci was accused of having wilfully thwarted the design which the emperor had avowed of ceding the Milanese to the duke of Orleans, lest the power of the dauphin, whose friend and partisan he was, might be diminished, and the failure of the negociation was therefore attributed to him. Whatever the charge was against Montmorenci, it was not thought of so serious a nature as to call on him for an answer. Francis merely intimated to him, that he would dispense with his services,

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and the constable retired to Chantilly, where, during the remainder of the king's reign, he reposed himself, enjoying the good opinion of all wise and sensible men, and occasionally indulging the bitterness of temper which his dismissal had occasioned, in sarcasms against the duchess d'Etampes, and the still more worthless persons of whose schemes she was the tool. Of all the faults which Francis committed, none were less excusable or more injurious in their consequences, than his unprovoked ill treatment of a man who had so many claims to his personal regard, and whom it was impossible to replace. His administration of public affairs had been intelligent, able, and faithful beyond all reproach, and his military talents were superior to those of any man of his age; and yet the king who knew this, and for whose personal advantage these rare qualities had been indefatigably exerted, willingly sacrificed him to the caprice or jealousy of a profligate woman.

The disgrace of the maréchal de Brion, although less important in its results, was hardly less unjust. The king had been accustomed to treat him with great familiarity, which it seems probable had increased the natural presumption of the favourite. The partiality which the duchess d'Etampes had evinced for him had excited some degree of jealousy in Francis, and had disposed him, more than he would perhaps otherwise have been, to resent Brion's displays of vanity. Upon some trifling difference of

opinion the king took offence, and threatened to have him impeached. Brion replied, that his conduct had always been irreproachable, and he had nothing to fear from the most rigorous inquiry into it. Francis grew more angry at being thus braved, and applied to Poyet, then the chancellor, who, finding the king highly incensed against his favourite, was as ready as such creatures usually are, to give effect to his resentment. He drew up a set of charges against Brion, some of which involved capital accusations, and the king in the first moment of his anger at being braved by a subject, and with a determination to humble him, ordered him to be imprisoned in the castle of Melun. A special commission was formed from the courts of parliament, before which he was tried. Poyet soon afterwards informed the king that he had been found guilty of twenty-five capital offences, and upon further inquiry, the king learnt that the gravest of them consisted in his having imposed a small tax on a herring fishery, over which, as he had supposed, his office of admiral gave him jurisdiction. Francis, who did not intend that matters should be carried so far, suspended the proceedings, and sent for Brion, whom he asked if he still persisted in saying that his conduct was irreproachable, and that he was altogether innocent. "I have learnt in prison," replied the admiral, "that before God and his sovereign no man can call himself innocent." Francis had determined to grant his pardon; but he resolved

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first to humble him still further, and he permitted a sentence to be recorded against him by which he was condemned to perpetual banishment, and to pay a fine of one hundred and fifty thousand livres. Having achieved this worthless triumph over his faithful servant, the king granted him a full and unqualified pardon; and reinstated him in the possession of his property and his office. Brion felt however that his disgrace was not wiped away, and that although the punishment had been remitted, an imputation which he had not deserved, still rested on his fame. He made such use of his newly acquired favour with the king, that he obtained a re-hearing of the charges against him, and on the second trial was fully acquitted. (a) He did not, however, long enjoy the restoration of his honour, but in little more than a year afterwards, died of a malady which was believed to have been brought on by the mortification and anxiety he had endured at that unjust imprisonment to which Francis's caprice had doomed him.

The chancellor Poyet is deprived of his office.

Poyet, who, upon more occasions than the last, had evinced a mischievous proficiency in all the arts of chicane, and who owed his rise to his want of principle and his litigious ingenuity, soon afterwards reaped the reward of his labours; and the very means which he had resorted to for his preferment, became his destruction. He had evinced so great a disregard for the immutable rules of justice, and had taught so many per-

(a) Pasquier, Recherches, l. vi. c. 9. Sleidan, l. xiii. Belcar., l. xxii.

sons that his office and his talents were employed by him only to serve his own purposes, that all who possessed interest at court thought they had a right to command him. The queen of Navarre requested him to seal the pardon of one of her retainers, who had been convicted of a capital offence, and the duchess d'Etampes had ordered him to grant letters of evocation, contrary to the rules of law, in favour of one of her friends. He refused both applications, and in a moment of irritation let fall some animadversions, which were not the less severe for being true, against the female influence that predominated at the court. His expressions were repeated to the haughty duchess, and she made so good use of them, and of the king's displeasure at the chancellor's persecution of Brion, which the admiral's recent death had increased, that Poyet was sent to prison, tried, convicted of malversation in his office, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment, to the payment of a fine which reduced him to poverty, and he was also declared incapable of holding office for the future. (*a*).

Monthelon, an advocate who owed his preferment to the talent he had displayed in defending the famous suit which the duchess d'Angoulême

(*a*) It is said that Poyet survived his imprisonment, and, driven by his necessities, would have returned to the exercise of his profession, but that he encountered everywhere the contempt which he had so well deserved, and died in abject poverty.

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instituted against the constable de Bourbon, and who was not less distinguished for the simplicity and probity of his private character, was raised to the rank of chancellor. He died shortly afterwards, when the seals were transferred successively to Erault, seigneur de Chemans, to Longuejoue, bishop of Soissons, and to the celebrated Olivier de Leuville. The first died soon after his promotion, the second was displaced, and the third relinquished his office to Olivier, who occupied the important post, for which he was admirably qualified, during the remainder of Francis's reign.

Francis prepares for a campaign.

By these events, and by the disgrace of the cardinal de Lorraine, whose expensive style of living had excited the king's suspicions, and whose continual solicitations had fatigued his liberality, the administration of the affairs of France had fallen into the hands of d'Annebaut and the cardinal de Tournon, men of unquestionable talents, if they had been employed in subordinate departments; but who were wholly incapable of directing the extensive operations which the war, now about to commence, would render necessary. They committed a mistake, which men of such minds as theirs commonly fall into. The wise policy on the part of Francis would have been to begin the present war at the precise point where the last had concluded: but the new ministers thought it incumbent on them to establish a new system, and, instead of directing their most active attempts to Piedmont, which was more than half won, with a view of

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conquering the Milanese, they determined on a simultaneous attack on Luxembourg and Roussillon. In order to give a colour of justice to that, for which the only real excuse was to be found in the emperor's ill faith and his hostile intentions towards France, a claim was set up by the king to each of these provinces. Luxembourg, he pretended, was his, as well because a part of it had been formerly acquired by Louis, duke of Orleans, brother of Charles VI., as because the former lords of the territory, who had been despoiled by the dukes Philip and Charles of Burgundy, had ceded it to him, and that cession had been ratified by the family of la Mark. His title to Roussillon rested upon the fact that Ferdinand of Arragon, to whom it had been given up by Charles VIII., had never performed the condition on which the relinquishment had been made. Langei, and the wiser of the king's councillors, who knew the real interests of the country, strenuously urged the expediency of continuing the war in Italy; but Francis was determined to follow the plan which his new ministers had formed, and the better council was rejected.

Resolves to attack Roussillon and Luxembourg.

The emperor, although he was perfectly well acquainted with Francis's hostile intentions, did not believe he was in a situation to execute them at present, and determined therefore to pursue an expedition which he had long meditated against Algiers. The naval power of the Turks in the Mediterranean had been universally felt to

Charles's unsuccessful expedition to Algiers.

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be very dangerous to the commerce of Italy and Spain, and the coasts of the former country had frequently been ravaged by the infidels. It was to put a stop to these attacks, and at the same time to withdraw the Turkish army from Hungary, where his brother Ferdinand had recently been defeated by Solyman, with great loss, that Charles had entered upon his present design. He had engaged the protestant princes of Germany to undertake the defence of the duke of Savoy, if he should be attacked in his absence; and believing that even if Francis should be prepared earlier than, from present appearances, was probable, he would do nothing that might check an enterprise undertaken for the general safety of Christendom, he embarked with his army. The Pope, whom he visited at Lucca, had endeavoured to divert him from this expedition, for which the season of the year (autumn being now considerably advanced) was extremely unfavourable; but Charles, strong in the belief that the glory of his present enterprise would eclipse that which he had formerly gained at Tunis, determined to proceed. His forces consisted of twenty-two thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, with which he arrived at Algiers, and safely landed about the end of October. Immediately afterwards the rainy season came on with so much severity that it was impossible for him to execute any of the plans he had formed. His troops were harassed by the Mahometans, and suffered so dreadfully from sickness and the

want of provisions, that he determined to return to Spain. He re-embarked his army, but encountered tempests so violent, and winds so adverse, that when he reached the Spanish coast, he had lost fifteen of his galleys, eighty-six smaller vessels, most of his artillery and munitions, and a very considerable number of troops. He had taken with him the most efficient part of his Italian and Spanish armies, and Italy in particular was so much thinned, that if the war had been vigorously prosecuted there by Francis, it could hardly have failed of success.

Francis heard of the emperor's disastrous return just as he had completed his own levies. He had divided his troops into two bodies. One of them, consisting of thirty-five thousand foot, and three thousand horse, was under the command of the duke of Orleans; the second, which was led by the dauphin, consisted of about forty thousand foot, two thousand men at arms, and two thousand light cavalry. Although the nominal command of these forces was intrusted to the princes, the king had associated with them officers whose experience and skill were much more likely to insure the success of the expedition than the untempered courage of the young generals. D'Annebaut and Montpesat accompanied the dauphin to Roussillon, where his operations were to be directed; and the duke de Guise held the second command under the duke of Orleans in the army destined for the recovery of Luxembourg.

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War in Luxembourg.

At first, the most complete success attended the expedition of the duke of Orleans. He attacked the strong towns with so much vigour that they were all carried; and of the whole duchy of Luxembourg, Thionville alone remained in the possession of the emperor's garrison. At this moment, and when it seemed that nothing but common prudence was wanting to insure his triumph, news arrived that a general engagement was about to take place at Roussillon. The duke of Orleans immediately determined to be present at it; left the command of his army to the duke de Guise, but at the same time so weakened it by sending the greater part of his lanz-knechts to guard the frontiers of Picardy and Champagne, that the remainder of the troops were compelled to keep up a merely defensive warfare, and could not prevent the imperialists from recovering the capital of the duchy.

Siege of Perpignan.

Francis, who had learnt by experience that such courage as his younger son had displayed, was wholly worthless, unless accompanied by much greater discretion, reproved him severely for having quitted his post. The war in Roussillon languished. Perpignan, which Montpesat had promised to take almost instantly, was found to be in a state of excellent defence, and after several weeks of ineffectual siege, the approach of winter compelled the dauphin, with the king's sanction, to break up his camp and discontinue the attack. The whole blame of

the failure was visited very undeservedly upon Montpesat, whose advice, although it was hazardous, would in all probability have succeeded if it had been followed strictly. He had insisted upon a prompt attack; but the operations of the army were so slow, that the emperor had time to throw into Perpignan those supplies, upon the want of which Montpesat had calculated when he promised a successful termination to the siege.

The king releases the Spanish prisoners.

During this expedition Francis performed an act of benevolence, which was more honourable to him than the most glorious exploit in arms. Some of the Italian troops in his army had surprised a place and carried off all the women in it, whom they refused to release without ransom. The Spaniards remonstrated, and insisted that it was contrary to the usages of war to make prisoners of women. The Italians had a ready and unanswerable reply, in reminding them that when their countrymen sacked Rome, they had, besides their other atrocities, torn infants from their mother's arms, and demanded a ransom for their lives. Francis could not sanction so unreasonable a proceeding; but as the provocation which the Italians had received from the Spanish soldiery, on more occasions than that to which they alluded, had been very great, he settled the dispute by paying from his own purse the sum at which the ransom of the Spanish women had been fixed, and

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restored them in perfect safety to their husbands. (*a*)

War in Piedmont.

The war in Piedmont had been kept up; but as Langei, who commanded there, had a very small available force, his exertions were almost wholly confined to watching, and thwarting as far as he could, the designs of the marquis du Guast. He made several attempts upon the fortresses of Piedmont, with varying success; and little advantage had been gained on either side, when the winter put a stop to all hostile operations. After the failure of the attack on Roussillon, the king, who now saw the value of the advice he had rejected, sent d'Annebaut, with the army which had been so uselessly employed, to carry on a more vigorous warfare in Piedmont. Langei was somewhat mortified at finding a younger officer, and one who had done much less service than he, preferred to him in command; and this feeling was increased by the slight regard which d'Annebaut seemed disposed to pay to his advice. He determined therefore to withdraw from a post which he could no longer hold with honour, and to make such representations to the king in person as the interests of the country required. He set off on this journey, which, from his infirmities, he was ill able to perform, and had reached St. Saphorin, near Tarare, when a sudden attack of paralysis put an end to his existence. He was one

Death of Langei.

(*a*) Gaillard, l. vi. c. 1.

of the most disinterested and generous, as well as the most able and active of the public officers of France, and had contributed more by his personal exertions than any other individual to rescue the country from the dangers with which the emperor's secret machinations had threatened it. His memoirs contain a very accurate and faithful narration of the principal events of the times in which he lived, and are, with those of his brother, to the reign of Francis what the memoirs of Sully are to that of Henri IV. His merit was duly estimated, although not duly rewarded by the monarch whom he served; but the highest eulogium that his political memory has received proceeded from the mouth of an enemy. The emperor, when he heard of his death, said, "That man has done me more harm than all the people of France besides."

D'Annebaut, after taking some places of trifling importance, left the command of his army to Boutiéres, and repaired to France, to concert with the king the plan of a campaign for the season which was to commence with the ensuing spring. He had chosen for his journey across the Alps that period of the year at which the road is most dangerous. The persons who were best acquainted with the effect which the weather commonly produces in this district had earnestly cautioned him not to proceed; he disregarded their advice, and in consequence nearly lost his life by the fall of an avalanche, which destroyed the greater part of his suite.

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Operations in Piedmont.

Martin du Bellay, who after his brother's death assumed the family name of Langei, and on the departure of the latter for France had succeeded to the command of Turin, exerted himself, perhaps the more zealously, because d'Annebaut, whom he disliked, was absent, to preserve the French conquests in Piedmont, and to oppose the schemes which du Guast was constantly forming in favour of the emperor. He succeeded in defeating, among others, a plan which had been laid for gaining Turin. A judge of the city one day presented himself, and told him that he had been solicited by du Guast to assist him in surprising the place, and offered at the same time to suggest to du Bellay a scheme for entrapping the imperialist, which it was hardly possible for him to avoid. Du Bellay affected to entertain his proposition; but in the mean time he forbade him to mention the circumstance, and above all, enjoined him, on pain of death, to hold no communication with du Guast, or his emissaries, until he should give him permission. The judge promised implicit obedience, and departed. Upon inquiring into the character of this person, du Bellay learned that he was exceedingly poor, and that he had daughters who were more remarkable for their beauty than for the regularity of their lives. This excited his suspicion as to the integrity of the judge; and having had his motions carefully watched, he soon ascertained that he was engaged in a treasonable correspondence with the enemy. He

intercepted his letters, and found that in one of them he informed du Guast that the elder Langei's death enabled him to make the imperial general master of Turin, and explained to him the means by which he could perform this promise. Upon obtaining possession of this letter, du Bellay sent for the judge, and telling him that the time had arrived at which he had resolved to put in practice the scheme he had suggested for entrapping du Guast, bade him write such a letter as he believed would effect it. The judge retired to prepare the letter, and returned in about an hour. Du Bellay, in the mean time, had sent for the president of Turin and the king's procureur-general for Piedmont. In their presence he made the judge read the letter he had addressed to du Guast, and then asked him if he had written any others. The judge replied, that he had not, and reminded du Bellay of having forbidden him to do so under pain of death. Du Bellay then produced the intercepted letter, which the traitor could not deny to be his, and he was sentenced and executed immediately. (*a*)

Another attempt was made to surprise the city by Cesare da Napoli, who had endeavoured to bribe two soldiers of the garrison to surrender a part of the rampart, and which had nearly succeeded. The French soldiers communicated to du Bellay the offer that had been made, and in obedience to his injunctions they

(*a*) Du Bellay, l. ix.

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pretended to accede to it. The imperial officer sent three of his soldiers in disguise to examine the place; they were received, and the deception was so well kept up, that du Bellay would, at the same time that he defeated Cesare, have made himself master of Ulpiano, but that the news of his brother's death compelled him to set off immediately for Paris. His jealousy of Boutiéres prevented his imparting to him the design which had been formed, but he simply cautioned him to examine carefully all the hay-carts that should be brought into the town. Cavara, an officer in the French service, had been sent to watch the movements of the imperialists, and apprised Boutiéres of an attack they intended to make on Turin, in time to defeat it. Cavara afterwards wrote to him, that the enemy was preparing another attack, and Boutiéres receiving the letter at a time when he was otherwise occupied, put it into his pocket without reading it. The imperialists advanced, under favour of a thick fog, several bodies of men to the neighbourhood of Turin, and having placed them so near the gate that they could instantly be brought into action, they sent six carts loaded with hay, and driven by men wearing the dress of peasants, into the city. They presented a passport, purporting to be signed by Boutiéres, at the first gate, and were permitted to pass. Raimonet, a French officer who was on guard at the second barrier, asked the price of the hay, and on hearing an exorbitant sum demanded by

the carter, suspected there was some treachery. He bade his lieutenant thrust his pike into the cart; the weapon was withdrawn covered with blood, and at the same moment six soldiers well armed issued from beneath the hay; one of them fell upon Raimonet, whom he wounded, but was instantly cut down by the Frenchman. Each of the other carts produced a similar load; the drivers were also soldiers in disguise, and flew to their arms; the guard attacked them, but the entrance of the troops without, who had heard the alarm given by their companions, could not have been prevented, if a farrier of the place who happened to be at hand, had not, with great presence of mind, broken with a sledge hammer the chain that held the portcullis, and so gave time to the troops of the garrison, who hastily flocked to the spot, to shut the gates, and thus saved the town from being taken. (*a*)

(*a*) Du Bellay, l. ix.

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*Revolt of La Rochelle—War in the Low Countries—The siege of Landreci—The Duke of Orleans's campaign in Luxembourg—Cause of quarrel between Francis and Henry VIII.—Affairs of Scotland—Henry enters into a treaty with the Emperor—The Emperor in person continues the siege of Landreci—Francis marches upon Landreci—The citadel is relieved—Francis then retreats—Is followed by the Emperor, who is repulsed—Cambray admits the Emperor—Affairs of Italy—Negociations with the Turkish Emperor—The fleets of France and Turkey attack Nice—The siege is raised—The Count d'Anguien assumes the command of the army in Piedmont—Termination of the campaign.*

## CHAPTER XVIII.

ALTHOUGH the eventful course of Francis's reign had been marked by many serious disasters, arising from his foreign affairs, the tranquillity of the country had been very little disturbed by domestic disquietude, and the revolt of any portion of his people numerous enough to create alarm, had been almost unknown to him. At the conclusion of the last campaign, however, the discontent of the people of La Rochelle had been so strongly excited that it broke out into open disobedience. The exigencies of the war had rendered additional taxes necessary, and among others the duty on salt had been increased. When this impost came to be levied at La Rochelle, the inhabitants claimed an immunity from the payment, on the ground of the privileges granted to them by former kings of France, and which Francis had on his coronation promised to maintain. They not only persisted in their refusal to pay, but resisted the attempts that were made to enforce the duty, and drove out the revenue officer, who were charged with the office of collecting it. The revolt soon reached such a pitch that it became necessary at once to put it down by severe measures, and Francis went in person,

1543. Revolt of La Rochelle.

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with a considerable force, to reduce his rebellious city to its duty. His appearance was sufficient to tranquillize the place, and the people, alarmed for the consequences of their late violence, awaited in trembling anxiety the sentence of the monarch they had outraged, while one of their deputies expressed their sense of the fault they had committed, and implored the king's clemency. Contrary to their expectations, Francis granted them an entire pardon; and, in a speech which he addressed to them, full of benignant and paternal exhortation, he drew a contrast, the vanity of which was justified by the occasion, between the conduct which his rival, the emperor, had adopted towards the people of Ghent, and that which he had chosen to pursue to the inhabitants of this city. He ordered their arms to be restored to them, recommended them to direct them in future against the common enemy, and sent away his guard, satisfied that his best safety consisted in his being surrounded by his people. Transports of joy and gratitude succeeded to the grief and terror in which they had been plunged, and Francis, by this gentle and wise treatment of them, secured the faithful adherence of people whose rebellion might have been dangerous in the then state of the country, at the same time that he performed one of the most honourable actions of his life. A fine of two hundred thousand francs was imposed on the city, and given by the king to the chancellor Monthelon,

as a reward for his services. Monthelon, who was not less generous than his master, received the money, but gave it back to the city, to be employed in building a hospital. (*a*)

War in the Low Countries.

The war of this year commenced with an attack made by the duke de Vendôme upon the county of Artois, where he took several important places, and effectually strengthened the frontier of Picardy, of which province he was governor. He had taken the town of Bapaume, and had begun the siege of the castle with every reasonable prospect of success, when the king, who had taken the field in person, ordered him to march the whole of his forces and join the royal camp near Cateau Cambrésis. Francis then gave orders for the fortifications of Landreci, which had been dismantled in 1521, to be put into a state of perfect defence. While one part of the army was employed in this task, the other, under the command of the dauphin, took the castle of Aimerie sur la Sambre, the towns of Maubeuge, and Barlemont, and pushed his conquests onwards to the frontiers of Hainault and Brabant. He took the town of Binche with so much facility that he thought the citadel must also fall, and in this belief he attacked it with great vigour. He had, however, miscalculated his own and the enemy's strength. The imperialists, having notice of his approach, had strengthened and victualled the garrison, while the dauphin's army was too small for the suc-

(*a*) Du Bellay, l. ix. Sleidan, l. xv.

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cess of the project he had undertaken, and was but scantily supplied with provisions. He sent in all haste to the king, demanding a reinforcement and supplies; but Francis, who feared to leave Landreci until the works were completed, and who could not spare any of the soldiers then employed in protecting that place, desired his son to withdraw from the siege. The dauphin was compelled to obey, and was doomed to experience a disappointment similar to that he had encountered at Perpignan, at a moment when he had convinced himself that he wanted nothing but prompt assistance to insure a victory. He had, however, done enough on this and on other occasions to prove that he was worthy of the high command he held, and the actions of individual heroism which had been displayed by his companions in arms during the siege, were well calculated to keep up the reputation of the French chivalry. Among others who distinguished themselves here was Gaspard de Coligny, whose name was associated at a later period of his life with the fatal day of St. Bartholomew. At the siege of Binche he was merely a young and daring soldier, and thought as little that he should attain to the dignity of admiral of France as that he should lose his life in that horrid massacre, which cast one of the deepest stains on the annals of France. In an attack which he led against a part of the citadel, he received a musket shot in the throat, from which he with difficulty recovered.

When the fortifications of Landreci were completed the king hastened to the assistance of the duke of Clèves, who was assailed by the imperial forces, and who urgently demanded succour. Francis had promised him his niece, Jeanne d'Albret, (*a*) in marriage, and had engaged to protect him against Charles, who claimed the duchy of Cleves, and who had sworn that he would rather lose his imperial crown than leave the duke in possession of a single foot of his territory. The direct road to Cleves lay through the duchy of Luxembourg, and this Francis resolved to take. The moment of his departure was the signal for the imperial generals, the counts de Roeux and Roquendolf, to attack Landreci, which they had hoped to surprise; but finding that the precautions the king had taken rendered such an attempt utterly hopeless, they sat down before it in regular form. Some of the most gallant of the young nobles then serving in the French army, had, upon the first news that Landreci was attacked, thrown themselves into the citadel, and by their impetuous valour somewhat thwarted the operations of the cautious commandant to whom Francis had entrusted the defence of this important place. Roquendolf put in practice various schemes to induce them to make sallies, for which they were always too eager, and which were more likely to be advantageous to the assailants than to the besieged. Having on

The siege of Landreci.

(*a*) She became afterwards the mother of Henry IV.

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one occasion planted an ambush in a valley near the citadel, he sent a detachment of forty horse to defy the garrison. Thirty of the young men at arms in the place immediately rushed out, and attacked and defeated the imperialists; the ambush, consisting of a hundred men, then attempted to cut off their retreat, but were so severely handled that Roquendolf found it necessary to bring up a much larger body. La Lande, the commandant, who had watched his movements, advanced to protect his rash young soldiers against the odds that assailed them, and a sort of general engagement ensued, in which the French ultimately triumphed. La Lande however wanted no such dangerous displays of courage, and prevailed upon the king to recall the volunteers to his own camp, after which he kept up the defence with such immoveable patience, that he gave Francis time to proceed to the succour of the duke of Cleves, who was now in a situation of great danger.

The duke of Orleans's campaign in Luxembourg.

The duke of Orleans, who had preceded him to Luxembourg, conquered every place he attacked, and completed his success by taking the capital of the duchy after a short resistance, in which however the duke d'Aumale was seriously wounded. The prince would have laid siege to Thionville, but that Francis, who had been already too long detained, insisted on joining the duke of Cleves. It was now however too late: the duke, either despairing of the French king's effectual succour, or fearing the emperor's

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resentment, had thrown himself at Charles's feet, and with the most abject entreaties for pardon, had renounced the friendship of Francis. The emperor had no disposition to punish him further than by despoiling him of his estates, but he could not refrain from expressing the contempt which the duke's meanness provoked. Francis, who blamed his own dilatory march, not less than the faithlessness of his ally, congratulated himself that he was in time to suspend the journey of the bride he had promised him, and who was on her way to meet her affianced husband. The princess of Navarre returned to France, and the king marched back to the relief of Landreci, which was hardly pressed by the imperialists, and to the attack of which Charles had drawn his best troops from Germany, Flanders, and Italy. (*a*)

Causes of quarrel between Francis and Henry VIII.

It had always been a part of the policy of this unchanging enemy of France, in addition to such injury as he might occasion by his own arms, to draw upon Francis as many other enemies as he could, either by weakening his alliances, or by involving him in quarrels with powers which would otherwise have remained neutral. In pursuance of this plan he had now availed himself of a coldness which had ensued between Francis and Henry VIII. to induce the latter to join him in his attack. The English monarch had unquestionably reason to complain of Francis's behaviour, and although the cause of his

(*a*) Sleidan, l. xv. Du Bellay, l. x. Belcar., l. xxiii.

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discontent was of no very recent date, his desire to avenge it was not less powerful. The main stipulations of their former compact had been, that Francis should not aid the power of Scotland, which Henry looked upon as his natural and irreconcilable enemy. In violation of this engagement Francis had kept up a very friendly communication with James V., had received succours from him at the time of the emperor's invasion of France, and had in return given him the princess Madeleine in marriage. She died in the course of the same year, and Francis then effected an union between the Scottish king and Marie de Lorraine, widow of Louis II., duke de Longueville. In 1542 James died, leaving by his last marriage one infant daughter, that Mary Stuart, whose beauty commanded the admiration of her own time, and whose melancholy fate excites even now so strong a sympathy, that her vices are forgotten in the history of her sufferings. Henry, with a view to secure the tranquillity of both countries, had proposed a marriage between his son Edward and this princess; but the queen, her mother, was wholly devoted to her own family and her own country, and had determined upon a foreign alliance, and Bethune, the cardinal of St. Andrew's, who had been the principal cause of all the quarrels which had of late taken place between the two crowns, seconded her views. Henry expressed a determination to carry his point, though he should be compelled to resort to force, and the

Affairs of Scotland.

queen applied to Francis for protection. The French king, without the slightest intimation to Henry, sent the young lord Lennox, a nephew of the maréchal d'Aubigny, and of the house of Stuart, with a supply of men and money. A series of intrigues commenced, which were kept up with a malicious pertinacity on all sides. Lennox was alternately the dupe and the tool of the wily cardinal, until he found that his character had been attacked, and that he had been accused to Francis of having dissipated a great part of the money with which he had been entrusted. He sent a trusty messenger to Paris for the purpose of vindicating his fame, but Francis was so much prejudiced against him, that he threatened to imprison the envoy. Lennox then in despair retired into England to avoid the disgrace he had most unjustly incurred; and there actually committed the offence with which he was charged, by totally renouncing the interests of Scotland and France. Henry, for the purpose of securing his assistance, which the circumstances of the time rendered useful, gave him in marriage one of his nieces, the daughter of Margaret, the queen dowager of Scotland, by earl Douglas, her second husband. The troops, however, which Francis had sent to Scotland, determined the queen and the regent to resist Henry's demands, and those which arrived under the command of de Lorges after the news of Lennox's treason had reached France, enabled them to do so effectually. Henry, who had good reason to

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feel deep resentment at this ill faith on the part of a monarch who owed him so much, and who had so often acknowledged the obligation, at once accepted the offers which the emperor had long made him, entered into an offensive league with him against Francis, and sent him ten thousand men as earnest of the assistance he promised. (*a*)

Henry enters into a treaty with the emperor.

The emperor with this reinforcement determined immediately to carry on the siege of Landreci in person. He divided his camp into three separate bodies, under the command of Ferdinand Gonzagua, the count de Roeux, and the duke of Alba. The strength of the place defied their attacks; but the governor, having abandoned the lower part of the town, the defence of which he thought more difficult than important, the imperialists took possession of it, and annoyed the besieged so much, that la Lande, the commandant, and d'Essé, whom Francis had sent to share the defence with him, resolved to dislodge them. This was effected, though not

The emperor in person continues the siege of Landreci.

(*a*) The terms of this treaty were—first, that they should jointly require the French king to recede from his alliance with the Turks; to make reparation to the Christians for all the losses which they had suffered in consequence of that alliance; to pay to the king of England the arrears of his pension, and to give him security for the faithful payment of it in future: and, secondly, that if Francis did not signify his assent within forty days, the emperor should reclaim the duchy of Burgundy; Henry, the possessions of his ancestors in France; and each should be ready to support his right at the head of a powerful army.—Rym. Fœd., xiv. 768. Lingard, vol. vi.

without considerable loss on both sides. The winter soon afterwards set in with great severity, and while the besiegers were exposed to its influence without, the garrison suffered all the privations which accompany a scanty supply of provisions. The wine and beer had been long consumed, officers and men drank nothing but water, and at length the soldiers were reduced to daily half rations of bread. The emperor, who was apprised of their necessities, calculated upon reducing them by famine, and therefore suspended the attacks, contenting himself with a close blockade of all the avenues leading to the city. The necessities of the besieged, however, prompted them to evade his vigilance; they conveyed an intimation of their condition to the king, who hastened to encounter the besieging army, and entrusted to Langei the difficult task of relieving and victualling the exhausted garrison.

Francis marches upon Landreci.

The king's approach had compelled the besieging army to draw closer together, and enabled Langei to lodge a quantity of provisions and cattle which he had collected in the neighbouring country at Vervins, without being perceived by the enemy. Francis at the same time had sent out skirmishing parties for the purpose of diverting the attention of the imperialists. Langei reached la Capelle in safety, and was crossing a plain between that place and Landreci, when he perceived a troop of about one thousand Austrian men at arms. He had with

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him at this time, twelve hundred sheep, eighty oxen, six hundred sacks of flour, a quantity of draught cattle; and but a small escort for the protection of this valuable supply. Knowing that he could not effectually resist the force which was in sight, if they encountered, he resorted to a stratagem, the success of which equalled its boldness and ingenuity. He made all the peasants who were engaged in the convoy of the provisions, mount the loaded horses, and covering them with his own cavalry so effectually that their real appearance could not be discovered, he at once entirely concealed his train of provisions, and imposed upon the enemy the belief that he had so large a troop of horse, that to attack them would be madness, and even to stay within their reach unsafe. The Austrians, under this impression, withdrew somewhat hastily, and Langei, without further accident, brought his welcome convoy into Landreci. This event determined the fate of the siege; the place being completely victualled, the emperor knew that further attack must be unavailing; and the king, who had intended to give him battle, if he could relieve Landreci by no other means, now determined to retreat. This resolution was put in practice during the night, and was conducted with so much prudence and effect, that although the emperor followed for a short distance, he was driven back by Brissac, who commanded the rear-guard, with considerable loss.

Landreci is relieved.

Francis then retreats.

Is followed by the emperor, who is repulsed.

The greatest disadvantage which ensued to Francis by this movement was, that he lost the important city of Cambray, which the emperor induced, as much by persuasion as by force, to receive a garrison of his troops, and to build a citadel for the purpose of protecting their town against future attacks. This affair ended the campaign on the Low Country frontier, without, upon the whole, much advantage to either party. Charles, however, did not fail to indulge in his ordinary vein of boasting, and flattered himself that he had gained a triumph in Francis's retreat. (*a*)

Cambray admits the emperor.

In Italy the result of the campaign had been on the whole unimportant; but the evil which, considering the relative strength of the opposing forces, must have befallen the French cause, had been averted by the prudent measures taken by the deceased Langei, the advantage of whose sagacity and skill endured after he had ceased to exist. The assassination of Fregosa and Rincon had wholly defeated Francis's plan for a reconciliation with Solyman; but the necessity of recovering the alliance of the Turk grew daily more urgent. The king had applied to Langei, to find him some person qualified for the mission, the dangers of which had been demonstrated in so appalling a manner; and Langei selected a man, of all others best suited to the task, and who executed it with perfect success. This was a young officer of the name of Paulin, who had

Affairs of Italy.

(*a*) Du Bellay, l. x. Belcar., l. xxiii.

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risen from a very obscure station by a concurrence of lucky incidents. He was the child of a peasant; a corporal in one of the French regiments, who was passing by accident, conceived a liking for him as he saw him playing at the door of his father's humble cabin, and offered to take him off the poor man's hands. The parent at first refused to part with him; but the boy was so fascinated with the notion of becoming a soldier, that he determined to follow the fortune that presented itself to him. He passed through all the grades in the army, from that of a boy in the baggage train, a corporal's servant, up to the rank of captain; gaining every advance that he made by his courage and by a strong natural aptitude for the profession of arms, which displayed itself in all his conduct. Langei, whose great skill consisted in discovering the peculiar qualifications of men, and in directing them to such ends as he required, saw in Paulin one whose daring and intelligence were precisely the qualities of which he had need in his embassy to Constantinople, and he sent him thither with the dispatches which had been entrusted to the ill-fated Rincon. The secrecy which was observed by Langei, exempted Paulin from all dread of assassination in Italy, but the great danger was to be met and overcome at Constantinople. Francis's delay and Charles's misrepresentations had induced Solyman to adopt a belief that the French king had betrayed him; and he regarded Paulin's mis-

Negociations with the Turkish emperor.

sion as a fresh attempt to engage him in some new confederacy, from which he was to derive no more benefit than he had done from the last. He would not, at first, listen to the explanations which Paulin offered to make, openly expressed his belief that Francis was confederated with Charles in an attempt to deceive him, and scornfully declined the propositions which were submitted, and which, he said, were unworthy of any but Christian politics. The ministers of the emperor took up their master's tone, and Paulin, soon discovered that Charles's emissaries had been effectually at work. Upon this occasion, the new diplomatist practised the arts of his trade with a sagacity and patience which could not have been surpassed. He began by trying to form a friendship with some of the officers of the court, and at length, by unremitting exertions, he so far succeeded as to induce Solyman himself to listen to his statements. This accomplished, the success was no longer questionable. The proofs of his veracity were so clear, and his master's interests so eloquently and zealously urged, that Solyman, who had great penetration and judgment, was convinced he had too hastily condemned Francis. Having established himself once in the Turkish monarch's confidence, Paulin easily prevailed upon him to grant the assistance which Francis required. Barbarossa, who then held the supreme command of the Turkish navy, had orders to accompany him to the Italian

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coast, to follow his counsels, and even to carry on the warfare in which he should be engaged, according to the practices of civilized nations, and not with that sanguinary barbarity which had made the Turkish name the terror of all Europe; a circumstance which at once proves the influence Paulin possessed, and which was of great importance to protect Francis from the censures which his alliance with the Turks was likely to provoke. Paulin endeavoured, also, to engage the Venetian senate in the alliance, and might have succeeded, but that Solyman's minister to that state was not proof against the emperor's gold, and consequently the negociation on the part of France failed.

The fleets of France and Turkey attack Nice.

The Turkish fleet joined that of France, commanded by the young count d'Anguien, off the coast of Provence. The latter officer, while waiting for the arrival of Barbarossa's galleys, attempted to surprise the castle of Nice; some of the defenders of which had promised to assist his enterprise. Fearing either treachery or accident, he had taken the precaution to keep the main body of his fleet within gun-shot of the shore, while four of his galleys landed the soldiers appointed for the expedition. The result proved the wisdom of his caution. An ambush had been planned by Doria, who was lying in wait behind a small head-land, with six galleys; the count's four ships were taken, and he was compelled to withdraw with the rest of his force. When Barbarossa's fleet came up, the attack was renewed, and the town taken with some

difficulty, but not until the defenders had had time to disappoint their assailants' hopes of plunder by removing from it every article of value. The citadel still held out, and was so strong, as well by its natural position as by the fortifications which had been erected, that all attempts to reduce it were unavailing. D'Anguien had nearly exhausted his provisions and his ammunition, and the people of Marseilles, to whom he had applied in this emergency, refused to let him have any others. He then requested Barbarossa to send him the supplies he wanted. The Turk furnished him, but with a very ill grace, and at the same time took no pains to conceal the dislike and contempt he entertained for the young commander personally, as well as for the rest of his nation. At length the count received information that the duke of Savoy was marching with the marquis du Guast to relieve the only place that remained to him of all his possessions, and doubting the faithful co-operation of Barbarossa, and believing also that a general engagement was likely to take place between the king and the emperor at Landreci, he raised the siege and repaired thither. (*a*) Barbarossa

The siege is raised.

(*a*) The duke of Savoy was so much flattered at having saved his citadel of Nice, that in order to perpetuate the memory of an attack, which he called an outrage on all Christendom, he caused a silver coinage to be struck, on one side of which was the cross of Savoy surrounded by the emblems of victory, and on the other the inscription, "Nicæa

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withdrew also, and terminated his exploits of the season, by attacking some places on the Tuscan and Neapolitan shores, where he was repulsed, and by sacking and depopulating the isle of Lipari. (*a*)

After Nice was relieved, du Guast returned to Piedmont, and as his army was now much larger than that of France, he made himself completely master of the open country. Boutiéres, who held the chief command of the French forces, could not venture to oppose him. Montdovi was besieged, and after a short defence capitulated, on condition that the garrison should march out with their arms and baggage. In violation of this treaty, the imperial troops brutally massacred the defenders as they quitted the garrison, and du Guast incurred all the odium of having instigated a crime, of which, whether in this instance he was guilty or not, the assassination of Fregosa and Rincon had proved him to be capable. He soon after took Carignan, in spite of Boutiéres's efforts to prevent him. The French general having however soon after obtained some levies from Provence, Dauphiny, and Switzerland, amounting to nine thousand men, marched towards the north of Piedmont, bent upon retrieving the honour he had lost in the recent

à Turcis et Gallis obsessa." The circulation of this coin became extremely offensive to the people of France, and thus answered one of the purposes for which it had been made.

(*a*) Guichenon. Du Bellay, l. x. Belcar., l. xxiii.

successes of du Guast. This opportunity however, was not permitted to him. He had laid siege to Yvrée, and was pressing it very vigorously, when he learnt that the king had appointed the count d'Anguien to the command of the army in Piedmont. Boutiéres, who felt that this was an insult he had not deserved, could not endure the mortification it occasioned him. The count had reached Chivas on his way to assume the command, and sent to Boutiéres to furnish him with an escort. In the first transport of his anger, Boutiéres raised the siege of Yvrée, and marched the whole of his army to Chivas, and telling the count that this was the best escort he could give him, he retired to his estate to muse on his discontent. The cause of his being so abruptly displaced, was attributed to the loss of Carignan, for which he was much blamed; but a stronger reason was to be found in the very slender personal influence he had over the army, and in the disrespectful notion which his troops entertained of him, and which he had been unable to remove.

The count d'Anguien assumes the command of the army in Piedmont.

Termination of the campaign.

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*The Count d'Anguien besieges Carignano — Solicits Francis's permission to give battle to the imperialists —Montluc arrives at court as the Count's envoy— Debate in the French council—Montluc's speech— The King gives the desired permission—Preparations for an engagement—The Battle of Cerisolles—Results of the battle—Carignano surrenders—D'Anguien wishes to continue the war in Piedmont—His proposition is overruled in council, and he is recalled.*

## CHAPTER XIX.

In Piedmont the aspect of the war had materially changed since the arrival of the count d'Anguien, and the reinforcement which had been made to the French troops there. The winter had set in with unaccustomed rigour, but both armies still kept the field, and carried on their operations in spite of the inclemency of the season. (*a*) D'Anguien had gained, by his prudent conduct, the good opinion of his own officers, and had pacified the discontent with which some of the elder leaders saw so young a soldier placed above them. Immediately after he had taken such measures as were necessary for the present defence of the places which still belonged to France, he called a council, at which the plan of his campaign was deliberately discussed, and resolved upon by all the principal officers of his army. 1544.

The king's commands, and his own wishes, strongly prompted d'Anguien to endeavour to regain Carignano, which Boutiéres had suffered to be lost, and the difficulties that lay in the The count d'Anguien besieges Carignano.

(*a*) The frost is said to have been so intense, that the wine became frozen in the casks, and when wanted for consumption, the soldiers were compelled to break it with axes, and it was sold by the pound.

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way of the enterprise only formed additional inducements to the attempt. Du Guast had repaired the fortifications, laid in a large store of provisions, made himself master of all the passes leading to the neighbouring towns, and had placed in the citadel a garrison of four thousand men. The French officers resolved on the attack, hopeless as the enterprise seemed, and although their forces and their means were wholly inadequate to the reduction of a place strong in itself, and protected by the neighbouring army of du Guast. The count, having made his arrangements for this attack, marched upon Carignan, and commenced his operations by destroying a bridge which communicated between the besieged town and Quiers, where the marquis du Guast was quartered. He then extended his lines about the place, seized some small posts, which made the blockade more effectual, and established his camp at Vimeux. He took these steps so rapidly and successfully, that by their result he rendered it impossible for du Guast to relieve Carignan, without the aid of his whole force, and a general engagement. It was rather in the belief that the enemy would not venture upon so hazardous an affair, than because he felt himself in a situation to fight a battle, that the count had taken up his present position. His own force was numerically less than that of du Guast, without reckoning the assistance the latter might reasonably expect from the garrison of Carignan; he knew that the marquis would

be as desirous of succouring that place as he was of gaining it, and in order to free himself from some of the responsibility of the events which it was possible might ensue, he sent a messenger to the king, to explain to him the actual state of affairs in Piedmont, and to request his directions as to the future proceedings of the army.

Solicits Francis's permission to give battle to the imperialists.

The count was fortunate in the choice he made of his messenger. It was the celebrated Blaise de Montluc, who is well known to posterity by his commentaries on the times he lived in, and in which he was a most active performer. His work is extremely valuable, for the light it throws on the military history of that period; and for the simplicity, judiciousness, and grave humour with which it is written, can hardly be equalled by any of even those contemporary authors whose lives had been less busily employed, and whose education had been more carefully conducted than that of Montluc. At the time he was dispatched by the count d'Anguien, on this mission, he was forty years of age; and although he had spent by far the greater part of those years in the army, he was as yet only a simple captain of a company of Gascons, of which province he was a native. He was, however, perfectly well known to all the principal officers of the army; and his military talents, his daring spirit, and his admirable coolness in battle, were universally acknowledged and respected. His personal character, too, which

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was a fair representation of that of his countrymen, had contributed to make him generally liked throughout the army. He was frank, gay, and light-hearted; foremost in all kinds of fun and mirth during such intervals of repose as the troops enjoyed; and he possessed besides an extraordinary vivacity, and a soldierly eloquence, which his earnest manner rendered extremely impressive. Unwilling as he would have been, under any other circumstances, to leave the camp at so critical a moment, he was now reconciled to it by the subject of his errand, which was to obtain the king's permission to give battle to the marquis du Guast.

Montluc arrives at court as the count's envoy.

Upon Montluc's arrival at the court, the king, after reading the count's dispatches, called a council, at which he desired him to be present. The dauphin, the count de Saint Pol, and the admiral of France, were there assisted by the principal officers of state. Francis having opened the business, invited the officers to give their opinions on the propriety of granting the count's request.

Debate in the French council.

The count de Saint Pol strenuously opposed it, on the ground that the threatened attack of the king of England and the emperor on Picardy and Champagne, would require all the available force of the nation, and that the success of the count d'Anguien would be unimportant, even if he should conquer; while to lose a battle, would endanger the safety of the kingdom. He rather advised that, if necessary, Piedmont should be wholly

abandoned, and that at all events nothing should be done further than to remain in a posture of defence there. The admiral was of the same opinion, and the rest of the council followed him, all assigning the same reasons for the judgment they had formed.

Montluc had stood by all this time in a state of impatience, which, although he was not permitted to speak, plainly expressed itself in his face and manner, and which became almost ludicrous. Francis, who had watched him, and who was by no means convinced of the validity of the reasons which had been given for avoiding an engagement in Piedmont, at length turned to the Gascon captain, and, hardly able to restrain the smile which his contortions provoked, said to him, "Montluc, do you comprehend the reasons which oblige me to refuse the request the count d'Anguien has made to me?" "I understand them perfectly," replied Montluc, "but if your majesty will give me leave to say two words, I think I can shew they are not so forcible as is at present thought." Francis, who was desirous of hearing him, permitted him to give his opinion on the matter, and he has reported the substance of his own speech in his commentaries. "Sire," he said, "I have the honour and the good fortune to speak in the presence of one who is a soldier as well as a king; who knows what war is, and who has often been at the head of his armies; who has won battles with his own hands, and

Montluc's speech.

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who knows what may be expected from the quality and disposition of certain troops. In Piedmont, at this moment, we are five thousand Gascons, and as many Swiss, the bravest soldiers in Christendom, and all have been well tried. As to the Italians and the Provençals, who are under the command of Monsieur du Cros, and the Grisons who joined us at Yvrée, I cannot speak so confidently of them, but I believe, that such an example as the others will set them, will make them do their duty; and besides these, Sire, you must not reckon as nothing a crowd of brave young noblemen, now in your majesty's court, who will follow me to Piedmont as soon as I shall have the good fortune to obtain your majesty's permission to fight. The Swiss charged me on my departure, to say to your majesty, that if any one man of them should be found not to do his duty in the battle, they would consent to be degraded and put to death with infamy. We have been for these six months past, in the habit of skirmishing with the enemy, and we have never met them that we have not beaten them, with the exception of only one affair, in which monsieur d'Aussun engaged them a little too near to their own camp. We have three hundred gendarmes, who never turned their backs to a foe, and eight hundred light-horse, commanded by d'Aussun, de Termes, Bernardin, and Maure, who are as good as gendarmes. They all with one voice implore your

majesty to let them fight this battle for you; if you do not avail yourself of their valour, and if you now compel them to retreat from the enemy, you will find that their desire will cool, and your force will be ruined by desertions. The gentlemen who have spoken in council, have said very wisely, and perhaps very truly, that if this battle is lost, all is lost; but they have not added what is not less true, that if it shall be gained, all will be gained; that the king of England and the emperor will be utterly disconcerted, and the latter, particularly, will be glad to quit Picardy, and look to the safety of his possessions beyond the mountains. I beseech your majesty to consider these things. Trust in us, and be assured that no human force can defeat an army in the temper that your majesty's is now. In their name I supplicate your majesty not to refuse our request; but to honour us with this mark of your confidence in our inclination and ability to serve you."

The effect of Montluc's speech was enforced by the vehemence of his gestures, and the earnest confidence of the tone in which he uttered it; and although a want of assurance was never attributed to any of his countrymen, it seems probable that he was more than ordinarily excited by the encouragement given him by the dauphin, who stood behind the king's chair, and by significant gestures testified his approbation of the proposal. Francis seemed to think there

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was much weight in what the captain said. The wish nearest his heart had always been the conquest of the Milanese, and although years of disaster and disappointment had intervened since that wish had first impelled him to the victory of Marignan, it now again presented itself to his imagination in colours as fresh and as glowing as when it first fascinated him. He remained in a posture of reflection for some minutes, when the admiral, who guessed at the thoughts which occupied his mind, and who had perceived the evident inclination of the dauphin, coincided, like an adroit courtier, with their humour. "Confess, Sire," he said, "that you are disposed to grant the request which the count d'Anguien's envoy has preferred. I will not answer for the success of his enterprise; but I may safely answer for his and his army's doing all that human courage can do to achieve it. May God, who is the giver of victory, inspire you with a right decision on this difficult question!" Francis reverently uncovered his head, and, lifting his eyes to heaven, remained silent for a few moments, when, throwing his cap on the table, he exclaimed, "Be it so then; let the battle take place, in the name of God!" The council then broke up. The count St. Pol said, as he passed Montluc, "Madman! thou art this day the cause either of a great mischief or of great good fortune to this kingdom." "Be patient, my lord St. Pol," replied Montluc, who was too well pleased with his success to take

The king gives the desired permission.

offence at the count's unceremonious address, "set yourself at rest, and depend upon it the first news you shall receive from us will be that we have beaten the enemy to a fricassee, and may eat them if we like." (a)

Francis bade Montluc approach, and, graciously taking him by the arm, said, "Commend me, Montluc, to my cousin d'Anguien, and to my other captains. Tell them that I have consented to their prayer only because I have the greatest confidence in their valour; and that if I permit them to fight, it is in the assurance that they will earn me a victory." "I will repeat your majesty's commands to them faithfully," replied the captain, "and if their courage wanted any excitement those words will supply it."

Montluc set out instantly with this permission, which he had so earnestly desired to obtain, and carried with him the king's assurance that du Bellay should follow and bring money to pay the troops, and a strong reinforcement to the army. This promise was more easily given than performed. Du Bellay did in fact join the army in Piedmont, but with no more troops than sufficed to form a feeble escort which made its way with difficulty through a country filled with alert enemies, and instead of three hundred thousand crowns, which were required, he brought about half that sum.

As soon as it was known that a battle was

(a) Mém. de Montluc, l. ii.

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likely to take place in Piedmont, a quantity of volunteers hurried thither. The lords de Dampierre, Saint André, d'Assier, de Jarnac, de Chatillon, de Chamans, the vidame de Chartres, la Hunandaye, the only son of the admiral, Genlis, the Bonnivets, d'Escars, de Rochefort, and a quantity of others of the noblest and most distinguished of the nation, joined the count d'Anguien with considerable retinues, while a multitude of younger sons and gentlemen of small means,—all in short who could command horse and harness, repaired to his standard in pursuit of that fortune to which the army then presented an open path. Their presence was of the utmost advantage to the count in his need, for on learning his want of money they cheerfully furnished such sums as they could spare, and which sufficed to pacify for a time the soldiery. Boutiéres too forgot his personal chagrin in the general enthusiasm, and hastened to range himself under the command of the count. The gracious message of the king lost nothing by the energetic delivery of Montluc, and every thing betokened a speedy engagement. The fervour of the French troops promised all that could be done to insure their nation's triumph, and the comte d'Anguien moved his army to such a position as intercepted the enemy's approach to Carignano, and threatened Carmagnole. (*a*)

(*a*) Méms. de Montluc, l. i. Du Bellay, l. x. Belcar., l. xxiii.

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Preparations for an engagement.

Du Guast, who was apprised of all that had taken place in the French force, prepared himself for the conflict, which he was equally unable and unwilling to avoid. The plan he had formed was to force the passage of the Po, by a bridge which the count d'Anguien had constructed, and for the defence of which he had placed forts at either end. If the French permitted him to do this, he would gain an advantageous position; if they prevented him, they must descend from the heights they occupied above Carmagnole, and in the latter case be determined to pass the Po, in another place, by a bridge of boats or rafts which he had prepared, and so to penetrate into the marquisate of Saluzzo, where he was sure of finding an abundant supply of provisions, part of which he meant to throw into Carignan, and to devote the rest to the victualling his army. The French army would then be without the means of continuing the war, and must evacuate the country. Full of these vast projects he began his march, and in that braggart vein which was then the common reproach of the Spanish character, he summoned the small garrison of Sommariva to surrender in sight of the count's army. The commandant for reply to his summons bade him look upon the neighbouring heights, which were covered with the French soldiery. Du Guast began the assault, but the French artillery soon silenced his operations, and compelled him to desist. The imperial

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general afterwards confessed that if the French had then attacked him, they must have had an easy victory, for the Spanish bands, a very important portion of his army, were left behind, and were employed in bringing up the artillery, which had been overturned in a morass. In the evening the French committed a fault, the consequences of which might have been still more injurious than their supineness, by quitting their position on the heights. The imperialists saw and availed themselves of this error; and the count d'Anguien perceived that the enemy, besides being stronger in number by one-third than his own army, had a considerable advantage over him in their position. He had restrained his soldiers from the battle when they would willingly have engaged, and when the greater part of the officers strenuously urged him to that course, because he feared that his men were too much exhausted by the warm weather which had ensued almost immediately on the breaking up of the winter; but when he learnt the opportunity he had lost, he determined to attack the marquis at Cerisolles on the following day.

In execution of this resolution he ordered his army to march one hour after midnight. Boutiéres led the van-guard, which consisted of four thousand of the old French infantry, commanded by their colonel, Thais, and supported by some troops of light horse, at the head of which was de Termes. The count d'Anguien com-

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manded the main body, or battle, which consisted of four thousand Swiss, and the greater part of the gendarmerie; and here, as in the post of honour, the noblemen and gentlemen who had joined the army as volunteers, took their station. The rear-guard was placed under the conduct of Dampiere, who had with him three thousand Swiss and three thousand Italian foot, commanded by Charles de Dros, a gentleman of Piedmont, who had been governor of Montdovi. The only cavalry accompanying this latter body, consisted of some troops of mounted harquebussiers.

As the country about Cerisolles is extremely open, these three bodies marched almost in a line, the count d'Anguien occupying the centre. Seven or eight hundred harquebussiers were placed in advance as a sort of forlorn hope, and commanded by Montluc, who was always most willing to be where the danger was the greatest. Caillac marched next with eight pieces of cannon, and de Mailli, at the head of the rear-guard, commanded a similar number of guns, which together formed the whole of the artillery belonging to the French army. Du Bellay and Monneins acted as aides de camp, and transmitted the order of the general to the several divisions, as the events of the fight rendered it necessary.

The battle of Cerisolles.

The engagement commenced by a skirmish between the harquebussiers on both sides, which lasted from sunrise until eleven o'clock, up to

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which time the armies, although in sight, and almost within reach of each other, had not struck a blow. It was the object with each to endeavour to take the other in flank, but all the attempts that were made to effect this were very adroitly evaded. At length the two main bodies, consisting of the imperial lanz-knechts and the Swiss in the service of France, came to a charge, the shock of which was dreadful. Du Bellay, who commanded here, has the candour to avow that he committed a great mistake on this occasion, in advancing a body of Swiss in such a manner as exposed them to the fire of the enemy's artillery. Captain Floris, who led them, pointed out the fault before any serious consequences had ensued, and gave time to the lanz-knechts to come on, whose eagerness induced them to throw themselves between the guns and the objects of their attack. The Swiss were much fewer in numbers than their opponents, but being immediately afterwards reinforced by the French infantry, they pressed on so vigorously that they forced the lanz-knechts to retire, and opened a passage to Boutiéres's horse, who completely routed them; while du Guast, who saw the defeat of his troops, could not venture to bring up his cavalry to their assistance.

The fortune of the French rear-guard, or as in the feature which the battle had assumed it might more properly be called the left wing, was, however, very different. It consisted of

Italians and Swiss, who were called Gruyèriens, or Gryèriens, because they had been levied by the count de Gruyère in the cantons of Fribourg and Berne. The Italians were notoriously weak troops, and the Gryèriens shewed themselves unworthy of the name of Swiss. They fairly turned about when they saw the lanz-knechts coming on to the charge, and fled without striking, or attempting to strike a blow. The count d'Anguien, who had seen their terror, hastened to their assistance with his gendarmes, and attacked the lanz-knechts, in the firm assurance that when his own broken infantry saw they were supported they would rally, and follow up the impression he hoped to make. His charge was so irresistibly vigorous that he broke through the imperial troops; and it was not until he saw himself enveloped in their ranks that he discovered he was left to extricate himself as well as he could from the perilous situation in which he had thrown himself. The first feeling of despair which he then experienced was so strong that he is said to have threatened to die by his own hand; but a moment's reflection dissipated so unworthy a notion, and he adopted the more becoming course of attempting to cut a passage back through the ranks of his closing enemies. The Spanish and German infantry, finding they had no other adversaries to encounter than this small troop of French cavalry, attacked it on all sides. The gendarmes fought like lions; for they saw no hope of rescue. A small

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eminence intercepted their view of the field of battle, and they universally adopted the notion that their whole army was defeated and had fled. This, however, only increased their determination not to follow the example of their countrymen. They were not more than a hundred horse; and the enemy with whom they were engaged consisted of at least four thousand pikemen and a body of harquebussiers. They had made several desperate charges with loss to themselves, and without effecting any sensible impression on the dense body that was opposed to them, when on a sudden they found their foes giving way, but were wholly unable to account for so unexpected an event. The cause was soon explained: the Italians and Swiss of the left wing alone had fled the battle; and the right wing had followed up the first advantage they had gained over the imperialists, and had driven them with great loss against a detachment which was commanded by the prince of Salerno. That officer had been ordered by du Guast, at the commencement of the battle, not to quit the post he assigned to him without express orders, and had been strictly enjoined to let no temptation induce him to engage until he had permission to do so. The current of the fight had carried du Guast so far from the prince that he could not recall this absurd order; and the prince was so determined to obey it literally, that, although he saw the battle lost without his assistance, he did not think fit to

attempt the succour of the flying Germans, who might have been able to rally if he had procured them a few moments of repose. The two bodies of the French, finding that he evinced no disposition to attack them, pushed on at once against the only foes who kept the field, and against whom the count d'Anguien and his handful of gendarmes were making a desperate resistance. They assailed them at once in the rear and in flank. Some cavalry came up at the same time to the succour of the count, and aided his charge. This joint attack was not to be resisted; the imperialists were broken and routed, and fell back in great disorder into a neighbouring wood, whither they were pursued and cut to pieces.

The count d'Anguien, in his eagerness to have his share in the victory which he saw his troops had gained, had nearly committed an imprudence which might have been as fatal to him as that to which his despair had prompted him shortly before. Although he had now only six horsemen left with him, he would have pursued a large body of the retreating lanzknechts, but was staid by an old captain, who, seizing his horse's bridle, besought him to remember Gaston de Foix and the battle of Ravenna, where the impetuosity of the victor deprived him of the enjoyment of the glories he had won. The count was convinced of the imprudence of the step he had been about to take, and checked his followers.

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The prince of Salerno remained in the position which had been assigned to him, until the state of the fight convinced him it was necessary to retreat, and that if he waited longer for the orders of du Guast, it might be impossible to withdraw in safety. He saw that the enemy were preparing for an attack upon him, and therefore retired before their intentions could be executed. He and his troops escaped in safety; but the Spaniards, who had taken refuge in the wood, were massacred almost to a man by the Swiss, who had sworn to give them no quarter. They had adopted this resolution in consequence of the treacherous slaughter which had been made of their countrymen by the Spanish soldiery under du Guast, after the capitulation of Montdovi. It is impossible to excuse such cruelty; but the occasion and the characters of the combatants should not be forgotten: and it must also be remembered that the provocation was great, and that the offence of the Spaniards was as treacherous and gross a violation of the customs of honourable warfare as it was shocking to humanity.

The retreat of the prince of Salerno put an end to the fight; and the count d'Anguien found himself in possession of a victory, which he owed as much to the misconduct of his enemies as to his own activity and valour. The marquis du Guast had fought with great bravery in the earlier part of the engagement, when he had been wounded in the knee by a musket-shot, and had

his helmet crushed by a blow from a mace. He however did not stay to see the conclusion of the battle, and either because he was convinced that all was lost, or compelled by his wounds, he retired to Ast. Indulging in that style of vaunting, of which he was too fond, he had told the people of that city to shut their gates against him, and refuse him entrance if he did not return a conqueror. They took him at his word, and positively refused to admit him after the battle. He then retired to Milan, where he found a shelter, but where annoyances awaited him, arising from a similar cause. He had shewn some fetters to certain ladies of Milan, and had promised to bring the count d'Anguien and the young French noblemen who had joined the army as volunteers, bound to their feet. When he returned, almost a fugitive, the recollection of his former boastings was so strong, that he felt it advisable to keep out of the way of the people, and particularly of the females of the city, who, whenever they saw him, clamorously demanded the handsome young prisoners he had promised them. (*a*)

The French took fifteen pieces of artillery, and found among the baggage, the whole of which was captured, the materials for constructing a floating bridge, by which du Guast had

(*a*) A quantity of chains were found among the enemy's baggage, which, it was said, perhaps untruly, had been provided by the marquis du Guast for the prisoners he had resolved to make in the battle.

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intended to pass the Po. They took, besides an immense quantity of provisions, some very costly armour, and money and plate of the value of upwards of three hundred thousand livres, a supply which could hardly have come at a more seasonable moment, considering the destitute condition of the French army. The count d'Anguien sent Francis a valuable watch, which had belonged to the marquis du Guast, and had been left in his tent. The count's sister, the duchess de Nevers, was commissioned by her brother to present this to the king, which she did, and added, "Sire, my brother has not been able to send you the marquis du Guast, who saved himself by the fleetness of his horse; but he sends you his watch, which, although it is very superb, was not quite so well mounted as its late master." (*a*)

The imperialists suffered a dreadful loss of men in this engagement, occasioned chiefly, as was said, by the inveterate ferocity of the Swiss, who pitilessly slaughtered all that fell within their reach. The whole number of the slain was estimated to amount to from twelve to fifteen thousand men on the side of the imperialists, while the French army did not lose more than two hundred, a fact which would appear almost incredible, but that it is accounted for by the flight of the Spaniards, and the use which the ferocious Swiss made of their victory. The prisoners taken were two thousand five hundred

(*a*) Brantome, Cap. Illust. Anguien.

lanz-knechts, all of them Germans, and about six hundred Spaniards, among whom the principal officers were, Alisprand de Mandruzzo, who died soon afterwards of his wounds, (*a*) Don Raimond de Cardona, Mendoza, and Charles di Gonzagua. On the side of the French Charles de Dros, who commanded the Italian foot, and the colonel of the Gruyère Swiss, perished in the attempt to redeem their honour from the disgrace which the flight of their troops had cast upon them. François d'Assier, son of the celebrated Galiot de Genouillac, died after the battle of his wounds. His father, who had a misgiving of the fate which awaited him, had endeavoured to persuade him not to join the army; but on d'Assier reminding him that his honour and his duty called him to be where his country's cause required his services, the old man withdrew his opposition, and bade him farewell, with a prophetic intimation that he should see him no more.

Montluc redeemed the pledge he had given for himself and his comrades when he obtained the king's permission for the battle. He behaved with great gallantry, and contributed as much as any other individual to the victory.

(*a*) Mandruzzo received his wound in a single combat which he had proposed at the commencement of the fight to la Mole, a French captain. They rode at each other, and both received dreadful wounds. La Mole was struck just above the eye, and died immediately. Mandruzzo's cheek was cut through to his ear, and he was left for dead on the field, where he was afterwards found, and carried to Turin.

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The count d'Anguien was so well satisfied with him that he thanked him on the field, and bestowed on him the honour of knighthood. (*a*)

Results of the battle.

This victory produced the results that had been foretold, and revived the French cause, which had before been considerably depressed in Italy. D'Anguien immediately dispatched news of his success to the several courts of Italy, and by the prompt advantage which he took of the change it produced in the public opinion, he succeeded in gaining many of those Italian princes who had hitherto remained neuter only because they did not know which side they could safely espouse. At Rome and elsewhere levies were made; Mirandola was fixed upon as the place for the assembling the recruits, and in a short time the count d'Anguien found his army sensibly increased. The marquis du Guast on the other hand tried in vain to collect such a force as would enable him again to make head against the French general.

Carignano surrenders.

Carignano could not hold out effectually after the battle of Cerisolles, but yet the inflexible determination of Pietro Colonna, who commanded there, and of his garrison, would not permit them to yield upon any but such terms as brave men might honourably subscribe to. The battle was fought on the 14th of April, and although they were in want of all kinds of supplies, and suffering the most intolerable priva-

(*a*) Mém. de Montluc, l. ii. Belcar., l. xxiii. Du Bellay, l. x.

tions, they maintained their defence until the 26th of June following, and occasionally ventured to make sallies and engage in skirmishes which did some mischief to their assailants. The misery to which the people were reduced may be best conceived from the fact, that some of them, women as well as men, resorted to the desperate expedient of lowering themselves from the ramparts, and coming into the French camp to beg for food. At length, when it was impossible to resist further the pressure of famine, Colonna assented to a capitulation, on condition that the soldiers should march out with their arms and baggage. The gates were then thrown open, and a spectacle presented itself which would have inspired pity in the minds of the sternest conquerors. The soldiers were so worn out by famine and fatigue, that few of them were able to walk, and must have perished by the road side, but for the charity of the French commander, who provided them with carriages to transport them beyond the Adda, whither it had been stipulated they should retire.

D'Anguien wishes to continue the war in Piedmont.

All the other places in Montferrat had been previously taken or yielded, and the count d'Anguien now redoubled his entreaties to prevail upon the king to continue vigorously that campaign which had been so successfully begun. Francis at first seemed well disposed to comply with his request; but the threatened attack of the emperor and the king of England, for which

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His proposition is overruled in council, and he is recalled.

the preparations now appeared to be completed, and the advice of his council, who thought the safety of the country required all her military force to be nearer home, influenced him to recal the count and his army from Piedmont. In adopting this advice, Francis clearly abandoned his best interests. If he had persisted in following up his conquests in Italy at this period, the Milanese must, in all probability, have been his; and, at all events, the apprehensions which such a proceeding would have occasioned to the emperor, must have diverted him from effectually prosecuting his designs on France. The reinforcement which had been raised and collected at Mirandola, amounted to upwards of ten thousand men, and, under the command of Pietro Strozzi, was on its march to join the count d'Anguien, when it was encountered by the prince of Salerno, with the remnant of the army that had escaped from Cerisolles. An engagement ensued, in which Strozzi was defeated, without, however, maintaining any great loss; and on bringing up his forces to the French army, he found that his efforts were rendered useless, in consequence of the recall of the latter. Still, although the order had been given, it was not immediately carried into execution. The count kept the footing he had gained in Piedmont; he once more endeavoured to prevail on the king to send him some money for the payment of his troops, and resorted to every expedient which he and his officers could devise, to raise enough to

satisfy the Swiss, who refused to march without payment. All his resources were at length exhausted, and for this reason mainly it was, that he consented to enter into a truce with the marquis du Guast, by whom it was proposed, for three months. The emperor and Francis readily ratified the agreement which their respective generals had made. The count withdrew reluctantly from a country, the conquest of which appeared certain, if he had been permitted to pursue it, and brought his army into France to provide for the nation's defence, while the marquis du Guast marched his troops towards the frontiers of Picardy and Champagne, to aid the attack which the emperor was about to make on those provinces.

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*Joint attack of the King of England and the Emperor —Henry lands in France—The Emperor's progress —Besieges Saint Dizier—The King of England attacks Boulogne and Montreuil—The Dauphin takes the command of the French army—Intrigues of the French Court—The Duchess d'Etampes enters into a correspondence with the Emperor—Saint Dizier is obtained through her treachery—The Emperor continues his march—Capture of d'Epernay and Chateau Thierry, by means of the Duchess d'Etampes' intelligence—The alarm of the Parisians—The judicious movement of the Dauphin checks the Emperor's march—Negociations for a Peace—Siege of Boulogne—Boulogne is surrendered to the English King—Peace is concluded between the Emperor and Francis at Crespy—The Dauphin marches against the King of England, who garrisons Boulogne and retires—The Dauphin makes an ineffectual attempt to recover Boulogne—Termination of the Campaign.*

## CHAPTER XX.

BEFORE Charles prepared to attack Francis with the sword, he had resorted to that artful calumny which he had proved on former occasions to be a much more hurtful weapon, and had done all that was possible to lower his rival in the estimation of the other powers of Europe. By spreading the mere suspicion that the French king was disposed to treat with Solyman he had formerly inspired a general distrust and jealousy of him; and now that the world had seen the actual result of their union, that the flags of France and Turkey had waved together in an attack on the citadel of Nice, that a French prince of the blood and the Mahometan corsair, whose mere name spread terror along the Italian shores, had been combined in the disgraceful object of wresting from a Christian prince the last possession which the fortune of the war had left him, Charles found an ample field for his malignant declamations, and denounced Francis as the common disturber of Europe, and as one who had made a compact for its destruction with its worst foe. The truth was exaggerated and misrepresented; and where facts failed, the unprincipled ingenuity of the emperor and his agents supplied fictions, which served their turn as well. Libels, full of the most injurious 1544.

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falsehoods, were scattered throughout Germany, Italy, and England; and the imperial ministers at the several courts were directed to follow up with their personal representations the impression which these published statements were calculated to excite to the prejudice of the French king.

The success of these devices was much less in Italy than elsewhere. The Pope had determined to observe a strict neutrality, and nothing could turn him from that resolution. He had the good sense to see that the emperor was influenced by no other feeling than his insatiable ambition; and the recent treaty which Charles had entered into with the king of England, a much more odious and formidable foe to Rome than Solyman, convinced him that his affected veneration for religion was no more to be relied on than the other promises he had so often and so recklessly violated. The Venetians seemed for a moment disposed to hesitate; but the able and energetic conduct of Jean de Montluc, bishop of Mayence, the brother of Blaise de Montluc, and who was then the French ambassador to the state, sufficed to place the policy of his country's government in its true light, and to convince the Venetian senate that the treaty with Solyman was consistent with good policy; and that, so far from endangering the peace of Europe, it would be its most effectual protection against the encroachments of the emperor, while the religion and the com-

merce of Christendom would be in no degree assailed.

At the diet which the emperor had convened at Spires, Charles's accusations were more successfully uttered. The princes of Germany, protestant as well as catholic, saw imminent danger from the friendship between France and Turkey, and felt that if they should be exposed to a joint attack from these two powers nothing could save them. They, therefore, entered with little hesitation into the emperor's design for weakening the power of France. Francis had foreseen this attempt on the part of Charles, and had prepared to counteract, as well as he might, the effect of the emperor's misrepresentations. He had commissioned the cardinal du Bellay, Olivier, the president of the parliament of Paris, and Maillei, bailiff of Dijon, to represent him at the diet of Spires, and to make a full explanation of his intentions, and of the grounds of the present war, on which he was content to rely for a refutation of the emperor's accusations. The state of the countries through which they had to pass made it unsafe for them to travel without proper protection. To obtain this Francis sent a herald to Spires, and commissioned him also to deliver letters from Francis to the princes of the empire. Charles would not permit this officer to perform his errand. Immediately on his arrival his letters were taken from him; he was kept for some days so closely watched that it was

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impossible for him to communicate with any other person than those who had the custody of him, and he was then sent to the frontier, where he was dismissed with an intimation that he might thank the emperor's clemency for his life. The ambassadors, thus disappointed of their journey, endeavoured to accomplish its object by publishing in Francis's name an answer to the emperor's libels, in which they contradicted every point that he had raised, and vindicated their monarch's conduct with great earnestness and ingenuity, but followed the vicious example which Charles had set them so far as to violate the truth wherever it would have failed to bear out their denial. (*a*) Their labours were, however, in vain; the Germanic body had determined to side with the emperor. Their fears respecting Turkey had been too highly excited to permit them to listen to Francis's vindication, and the favour which Charles had for the first time evinced towards the reformed religion induced them to believe that they should be able to remove that fruitful cause of dissension. The Swiss, by their fidelity on this occasion, made ample amends for some former faults. The princes of the diet had solicited them to join their side; but the independent senators of the canton re-

(*a*) Although there are many statements in this document which are wholly untrue, and the falsehood of which the ministers must have known, the document is curious and interesting, and, with reference to the purpose to which it was applied, an extremely able one.—Appendix, No. XI.

plied, they were fully convinced of the French king's honourable and pacific intentions, and that so far from joining against him they had determined to assist him to the utmost of their power in the unjust war which the malice of his enemies had excited against him. (*a*)

Joint attack of the king of England and the emperor.

The avowed object of the treaty between the emperor and the king of England was the conquest of the whole kingdom of France, and its partition between them. Henry was to take possession of Normandy and Guyenne, and to assume the title of king of France, the emperor was to add nothing to his nominal dignities, but was to become master of the duchy of Burgundy in the south, and the provinces watered by the Somme towards the north. To execute this project it was agreed that the two monarchs should invade France simultaneously; that they should march directly on Paris, without stopping to take any intermediate places; and having there combined their forces, that they should force the French king to a general engagement, or to desolate his country before his face, and drive him out of it. If the stipulations on either side had been as honestly performed as the plan was ably devised, the safety of France might have been endangered, but the temptations which lay in the way of the invading monarchs, were too powerful to be resisted. Each occupied himself in besieging the fortresses they passed,

(*a*) Belcar., l. xxiii. Du Bellay, l. x. Comment. de Montluc, l. ii. Le Feron.

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and the delay that ensued was not less favourable to Francis, than the distrust which the new allies conceived of each other. Henry sailed from England with all that pomp and display, of which he was so fond, and landed at Calais with thirty thousand Englishmen. The counts de Buren and de Rouex joined him soon afterwards, according to the emperor's promise, with a force of fifteen thousand men, which were to be at Henry's disposal. They encountered at first but little resistance. Francis did not look upon Henry as his most formidable foe, but had sent the greatest part of his troops to oppose the emperor, who at the same time threatened Champagne, and he had taken no other precaution respecting Picardy, than that of placing garrisons in Boulogne and some other of the most important fortresses of that province.

Henry lands in France.

The emperor's progress.

The emperor had begun his attack by taking Luxembourg, and entering Lorraine he made himself master of Commercy sur la Meuse and Ligny en Barrois, either by surprise or by treachery; then crossing the frontier of Champagne, he stopped before the castle of St. Dizier, which he expected to surrender. Louis de Beuil, count de Sancerre, had undertaken its defence with the company of men at arms belonging to the duke of Orleans, whose lieutenant he was, and two thousand foot. The place was an important one, because it commanded the passage of the river, and its defence was therefore resolved upon, although it was

Besieges St. Dizier.

badly situate, and the walls very imperfectly fortified. The emperor, who thought that such a force as it contained, would not venture to hold out against his army, sent to summon the place; de Bueil replied, laconically, that the fortress contained no traitors, and that if he wanted it, he must take it at his sword's point. Charles then laid siege to it in form, still believing that a few days must place it in his hands.(*a*)

The king of England besieges Boulogne and Montreuil.

The king of England, who had heard of the emperor's success at Luxembourg, and who believed he might achieve for himself a similar triumph, determined to lay siege to Boulogne and Montreuil, the first of which he undertook in person, and entrusted the second to the duke of Norfolk and the imperial generals. Charles urged him, in vain, by his envoys, to proceed towards Paris. The obstinate king had set his mind on taking Boulogne, and persisted in his resolution, although it occupied him more than two months, at a period when the common interests required that he should have been otherwise employed. (*b*)

The dauphin takes the command of the French army.

Francis had entrusted the command of the army, with which he had prepared to repel this invasion, to the dauphin, and had associated with him the admiral d'Annebaut. The king had advised his son to encamp on the banks of the Marne, to keep that river between himself and

(*a*) Belcar., l. xxiv. Du Bellay, l. x.
(*b*) Lord Herbert. Stow, 585.

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the imperialists, to dispute the passage whenever they should attempt it; but, above all things, he enjoined him to avoid a general engagement. The dauphin punctually obeyed him. He pitched his camp at Jallon, and the most important object being to relieve St. Dizier, which was now hardly pressed, he sent Brissac with a detachment of two thousand foot to post himself at Vitry, so as at once to cut off the supplies from the imperial camp, and to threaten it with an attack in case the enemy should assault the fortress. Brissac executed his commission so effectually, that the imperialists determined to dislodge him, and sent three several detachments, each much larger than his own force, to effect this purpose, when, finding he could not withstand them, he retreated in good order, keeping his face to the enemy, and making several successful charges on his pursuers, until he reached the French camp. St. Dizier still held out, the garrison made frequent sallies, which were attended with great loss on both sides. In one of these captain la Lande, who had so successfully defended Landreci in the preceding year, was killed by a cannon-ball, and in another the imperialists lost the young prince of Orange. Some days afterwards, an assault was made by the emperor's express orders, which lasted from nine o'clock in the morning until four in the afternoon; the best troops in the army, German as well as Spanish, were employed in this attack. They made three

distinct attempts, each of which was entirely repulsed, and at length they retreated with the loss of eight hundred men, (a much greater number having been wounded,) and in such disorder, that they left behind them a quantity of powder, of which the garrison was in great want. The French lost thirty or forty gendarmes, and about two hundred foot. The count de Sancerre was severely wounded in the face, by the fragments of his sword, which was broken in his hand by a cannon-shot. The emperor sent on the following day to offer him honourable terms of capitulation; but Sancerre, who knew the importance of detaining the emperor, determined to continue the defence; and, lest the garrison should be induced to capitulate, he refused to permit the entrance of the imperial herald. The breach made on the preceding day, was effectually repaired during the night, when the imperialists, despairing of gaining the place by assault, began to mine the wall. Although their undertaking was carried on with great secrecy, it did not escape the vigilance of the defenders, who in a sally at night scoured the trenches from one end to the other, killed and wounded the greater part of the Spaniards whom they found there, destroyed their works, and took the pioneers prisoners, from whom they learnt the enemy's plans. The count d'Amande, at the same time, had taken up a position at Stenay, where he executed the design that Brissac had attempted; and, at the

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head of a detachment of light cavalry, successfully attacked the imperial foraging parties, and frequently cut off convoys of provisions.

The emperor, convinced that St. Dizier was not to be taken by force, determined to await the effect of famine, and remained, therefore, in his camp, in the expectation that he should induce the dauphin to give him battle. The policy of remaining on the defensive was, however, so clear, that the prince could not be induced to depart from it; and Francis, who might, with another part of his army, have attacked the emperor in his camp, thought that the exigencies of his kingdom, and particularly the protection of Paris, which might be said to be in danger, required him to adopt the same cautious system of forbearance. That plan of defence, which had preserved Provence in 1536, was now resorted to for the protection of Champagne; a coincidence which naturally led men's minds to the remembrance of Montmorenci, that illustrious general who had successfully conducted the former campaign, and who now wasted in inglorious retirement those faculties, of which his country was in the greatest need. The dauphin felt this so strongly, that he solicited of Francis the return of his old military tutor to his proper place at the head of the army. The king, who had abated none of the jealousy which he had conceived as well of his son as of his disgraced constable, not only refused to listen to the request, but expressed his refusal in terms

of undeserved severity towards the dauphin, and of stern reproof against those by whom he suspected he had been urged to make this request. That fatal court influence, which had first occasioned, still continued the unmerited disgrace of the constable; and it would have been well for the interests of France if it had been no more powerfully or disastrously exerted than on this occasion.

Intrigues of the French court.

The two factions of the dauphin and of the duke of Orleans, or, as they might be more properly called, of the duchess d'Etampes and of Diane de Poictiers, had become stronger, more violent, and more irreconcilable than ever. It was for no affection she bore the duke of Orleans that the duchess d'Etampes had induced Francis to favour his party in the most marked manner. She saw the king's health declining so rapidly that she could not doubt the time was fast approaching when she must resign that sovereign sway she had so long exercised. This had determined her to procure, if it were possible, an independent establishment for the duke of Orleans out of the kingdom, where she might, on the king's death, hope to find an asylum against the persecution she had deserved well enough to dread, and against the not less bitter mortification of witnessing her rival's triumph. This induced her to urge Francis to put an end to the war by accepting the terms which the emperor had formerly offered, and to which he was still ready to adhere. They

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were to confer on the duke of Orleans the investiture of the Milanese or of the Low Countries, on two conditions; the first, that the prince should marry either the niece or the daughter of the emperor; and the second, that the ceded territory should never be united to the French monarchy. The last was a stipulation to which Francis would not consent, and the duchess, having in vain attempted to change his resolution, resorted, with the reckless profligacy of a court favourite, to the most culpable means of gaining her point. Through the agency of the count de Longueval, a fit instrument of such an enterprise, she unhesitatingly engaged in a treasonable correspondence with the emperor, whom she informed of the propositions which were made and the resolutions which were from time to time adopted by the council of war. The first injurious effect which this treacherous intelligence produced to Francis was that it suggested to the emperor a scheme for reducing St. Dizier. A drummer had been sent to the imperial camp to propose the exchange of some prisoners: as he was returning, a stranger, who pretended to be a spy, accosted him, and with an affectation of great mystery, thrust a packet into his hand, which came, he said, from the duke de Guise, the governor of the province, and was to be delivered to the count de Sancerre. The drummer brought the letter to Sancerre, who discovered that it was written in the cypher used by the

The duchess d'Etampes enters into a correspondence with the emperor.

St. Dizier is obtained by her treachery.

duke de Guise, and of which he had the key. It was read in council, and purported to be an order by which the duke enjoined the commandant to surrender the garrison upon the best terms he could make, for that it was in vain to expect succour. A difference of opinion ensued at the council. Some of the officers were for disobeying this command, but the losses and privations they had suffered at length induced the majority to yield to its suggestion, and it was determined to capitulate. This supposed letter from the duke de Guise was, in fact, the fabrication of the imperial chancellor Granvella, to whom the duchess d'Etampes had communicated the duke de Guise's cypher. The imperialists endeavoured at first to avail themselves of this unworthy device to impose hard conditions on the garrison, but the manner in which the proposition was met convinced them that they had mistaken the spirit that actuated the defenders, and it was at length agreed, that they should remain twelve days in the place to wait for succours, when, if none should arrive, the garrison were to be at liberty to march out at mid-day with their arms, baggage, and their four best pieces of artillery, and with drums beating and flags displayed.

The emperor continues his march.

The emperor then continued his march along the Marne, and passing between Chalons and Notre Dame de l'Epine, he encamped opposite the dauphin, with the river between them. Some skirmishes took place between the advanced

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parties on either side, but still the dauphin restrained the natural desire he felt to encounter the enemy, and persevered in the vigilant caution which the king had enjoined. Charles was extremely desirous of passing the Marne; and the count de Furstemberg, who was well acquainted with the country, having served for many years in France, although he had now espoused the imperial side, (*a*) undertook to point out a ford at about a league below Chalons. In order to be quite sure of its safety, he determined to make a personal trial of it, and chose the night for this purpose. He had crossed the river, and reached the further side, when the French guard, who had watched his movements, seized, and carried him off. He was immediately recognized in the French camp, and sent thence to the Bastille, whence, after some time, he was released, upon paying a very heavy ransom. His capture frustrated the proposed passage of the Marne, and the emperor found the difficulty of obtaining supplies so great, that, dreading lest a fate similar to that which he had encountered in Provence should again befall him, he deliberated upon retiring towards the Low Countries.

Captures d'Epernay and Chateau Thierry, by means of the duchess d'Etampes's intelligence.

The same mischievous agency which had secured for him at St. Dizier a triumph, which his arms could never have won, was again employed to advance his interests, and to ruin those of France. The dauphin had laid waste the coun-

(*a*) Appendix, No. XIII.

try adjacent to the Marne, but had first carefully collected all the provisions the neighbourhood afforded, and had deposited them in the garrisoned towns. His most considerable magazines were at d'Epernay, and at Chateau Thierry; and fearing that d'Epernay would not be able to hold out against an attack, he sent an officer with a detachment to break down the bridge, to carry off such of the provisions as he could, and to destroy or throw the rest into the river. The duchess d'Etampes, who would unhesitatingly have sacrificed the very existence of the nation to her own selfish schemes, and who saw their destruction in the retreat of the emperor, apprised him of the dauphin's intention. By means of her emissary, Longueval, she contrived to have the officer who had been sent to Epernay delayed on the road, and amused with some frivolous pretext, so as to afford the emperor time to surprise the place; while at the same time another detachment of his army took Chateau Thierry, and he thus became master of the supplies on which the French army chiefly relied, and without which his own could not have advanced.

The alarm of the Parisians.

The alarm which this event occasioned throughout the country, and more particularly at Paris, increased the distress and danger to an extraordinary height. The terrified people fancied that nothing could prevent the emperor's march upon their city. Persons who had fled to the capital for refuge now hastened

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to Rouen and Orleans as places of greater safety. As these people carried with them all such of their wealth as was portable, they presented great temptations to the needy and dissolute, whose numbers the unsettled circumstances of the times had greatly increased. Regularly organized bands of robbers were formed, who plundered without check on the high roads, and who, in order to avoid detection and punishment, assumed the uniform of the emperor's soldiers.

The news of these complicated disasters fell heavily upon Francis, at a time when his bodily ailments rendered him less able to bear the mortification that now assailed him.(a) Although he had been long confined to his chamber by illness, he found it necessary to exert himself to calm the consternation which had seized on his Parisian subjects. He rode through the streets accom-

(a) While his mistress was employed in betraying him and his country, his amiable and gentle sister, the queen of Navarre, was unremitting in her attention to him, and sought by her affectionate assiduities to mitigate his griefs. Francis had a dread, amounting to horror, of seeing the emperor before Paris. Brantome gives a striking instance of this in relating Francis's alarm for Paris on hearing of the surrender of St. Dizier. He exclaimed at first, "Ah! mon Dieu, que tu me vends cher mon royaume!" Puis dit à la reine de Navarre: "Ma Mignonne (car ainsi l'appeloit-il) allez-vous-en à l'église à complies, et là pour moi faites prière à Dieu, que puisque son vouloir est tel d'aimer et favoriser l'empereur plus que moi, qu'il le fasse au moins sans que je le voie campé devant la principale ville de mon royaume."

panied by the duke de Guise, and assured the people that there was no present cause for apprehension, adding, "If you will only protect yourselves from your fears, I will undertake to defend you against the enemy." This timely appearance of the king, his gracious and affable manner, and the confidence with which he assured them of their safety, restored in a great measure the public tranquillity. But it was by the prompt and able exertions of the dauphin, that the imminent danger was effectually averted. As soon as he learned that his magazines were captured, he broke up his camp at Jallon, and even at the hazard of a battle determined to stop the progress of the emperor. He marched to Ferté sous Jouare, some leagues below Chateau Thierry, where he again encamped his army, strengthened the garrison of Meaux, and in all haste dispatched de Lorges with a force of eight thousand foot, and four hundred gendarmes to the relief of Paris, with which that officer took up a position at Lagny, and formed another barrier to the emperor's progress.

The judicious movements of the dauphin checks the emperor's march.

A series of remonstrances and persuasions had been during the same period in ineffectual progress between the emperor and the king of England. Each of them had pursued his favourite plan—the emperor at St. Dizier, and Henry at Boulogne and Montreuil; and each sought to cast upon the other the blame of not having proceeded to Paris, which they affected to believe would have insured the success of their

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design. False as these pretences were on both sides, they evinced the emperor's inclination to put an end to the war. Notwithstanding the supplies he had captured by means of the duchess d'Etampes's information, he experienced daily the difficulty of providing for the subsistence of his army in a country so hostile and so well defended as France. His progress hitherto had been marked by no considerable successes, and even those which he had gained were purchased at an immense cost. His army was attacked by sickness, and he himself was suffering under a violent fit of the gout. The intractability of the English king had filled his mind with disappointment and distrust; the late unlooked-for movement of the dauphin had baffled his hopes when he thought them nearest their completion. Under feelings of excessive mortification, and with a body exhausted by fatigue, he retired to Soissons, where he sought a short repose in the abbey of St. Jean des Vignes.

Negociations for a peace.

From the commencement of the war, negociations meaning little on either side, but affecting to tend towards a peace, had been kept up between Francis and Charles. The intrigues of the emperor and her own sordid interests had insured the co-operation and influence of the duchess d'Etampes to the side of Charles, but the contrivances of that restless courtesan went further, and she had prevailed upon Granvella, the emperor's chancellor, to favour her peculiar views. Martin de Gusman, a Dominican monk

in the abbey of Soissons, and a relative of the emperor's confessor, was employed by the duchess to assist in disposing Charles to a pacification. The state of his circumstances, and the present temper of his mind, disposed him to listen to the suggestions, and the conferences in form were soon afterwards entered into for a treaty of peace. D'Annebaut and the French chancellor were the commissioners nominated by Francis, and Ferdinand da Gonzagua and Granvella, by Charles. The emperor would fain have kept this treaty secret from his English ally; but, learning that Francis had solicited him to send ministers to the conference, Charles found it necessary to apprise him of his intention, and to invite him to join in effectuating them.

Siege of Boulogne

The French envoy found the English monarch engaged in person at the siege of Boulogne. That garrison was commanded by Vervin, a young man who had neither the courage nor ability for so important a trust. Captain Corse, the second in command, was however a brave officer of great experience, and directed and encouraged the efforts of the besieged so effectually, that they determined to hold out, notwithstanding the overwhelming force that was opposed to them. The duke de Vendôme, at the same time, with a small but well-chosen body of gendarmes, was constantly hovering about the besieging force, harassing them by unexpected attacks, and frequently intercepting their convoys of provisions. Still the English had the command of

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the sea, and so effectually prevented all relief on that side, that it appeared certain the place could not much longer hold out. Corse was killed in an assault, and the garrison having lost in him its best defence, Henry's hopes of taking it amounted almost to a certainty. When, therefore, the French envoys arrived on their pacific mission, Henry evaded receiving them; and, under the pretext of providing them with convenient quarters, requested them to take up their residence in the castle of Hardelot, while he pressed the siege of Boulogne with the utmost vigour. Vervin's timidity and embarrassment had so much increased upon the death of Corse, that he was eager to effect a capitulation on almost any terms. Without consulting either the garrison or the citizens of the place, he agreed to surrender the fortress, on condition that all its inhabitants should be at liberty to withdraw, whither they might choose; leaving, however, the artillery and their provisions behind them. The indignant citizens refused at first to ratify this capitulation, and the mayor of the city told Vervins he might retire whither he would, and that they would undertake the defence of the place without his assistance. On the following night, a violent storm came on, which did great damage to the English camp, destroyed the works they had thrown up, overturned their tents, and flooded the place in which they had stationed themselves, so that they could no longer maintain it. This confirmed the

Boulogne is surrendered to the English king.

citizens in their determination to resist, but Vervin, although no hostages had been given, nor treaty signed, affected to consider himself bound in honour to fulfil the stipulations which had been proposed, and either through fear or, as was suspected, through treachery, gave up the place to the English king. (*a*) Henry then determined to be no party to a peace which must deprive him of the possession of a place he had taken such great pains to win, and apprised Charles of his intention; at the same time refusing to see the French envoys. (*b*)

Peace is concluded between the emperor and Francis at Crespy.

The news of the capitulation of Boulogne disposed Francis more than ever to put an end to the war with the emperor. The conferences which had been for some time delayed, were renewed. Francis instructed his ambassador to conclude, upon any terms, and at length the peace was agreed to at Crespy en Laonnois, on the 18th of September. The conditions were, that the duke of Orleans should marry either Mary of Austria, the emperor's eldest daughter, or the second daughter of the king of the Romans, and the selection of one of these two ladies was to be left, not to the proposed husband, but to the emperor: that the duke should receive with

1544.

(*a*) Vervin, although he escaped for the present the punishment he deserved, was overtaken by it in the ensuing reign. He was tried for the surrender of Boulogne, by order of Henri II., and sentenced to be beheaded.—Du Bellay, l. x. Sleidan, l. xiii.

(*b*) Stow, 587. Herbert, 245. Belcar., l. xxiv. Rym, Fœd., t. xv. p. 52.

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her the Milanese, or else the Low Countries, with the duchy of Burgundy and the county of Charolois; and that the choice of these dowries should also be made by the emperor: that in case he should determine to cede the Milanese, he should retain in his own hands the castles of Milan and Cremona, until male issue of the marriage should be born: that if the princess should die without issue, the duchy should revert to the emperor, saving always such title as the king might have to it: that if Charles should cede the Low Countries, then the king should relinquish for ever all claim that he or his successors might have to the Milanese: that as soon as the duke of Orleans should be in the possession of either one or the other of these territories, Francis should give up to the duke of Savoy all that he had taken from him, and Stenay to the duke of Lorraine, who had transferred it to the French monarch, contrary, as the emperor insisted, to the feudal laws of the empire, which precluded its alienation: that the king should keep Pignerol and Montmegliano until the duke of Orleans should be in possession of the castles of Milan and Cremona; and, lastly, that all which had been taken by the king or by the emperor from the other, since the treaty of Nice, should be mutually restored. Besides these provisions, which were wholly confined to the proposed marriage of the duke of Orleans, it was agreed between the monarchs that Francis should not interfere either in per-

son, or by his arms, with the quarrel that subsisted between the emperor and the king of Navarre, relative to the dominions of the latter, but only exert himself to suggest such terms of amicable adjustment as might arrange the differences between them; and that all matters in dispute with the king of England, should be referred by Francis to the arbitrament of the emperor. (*a*)

The whole of such benefit as might be derived from this treaty, even if it had been punctually executed, tended to the personal aggrandisement of the duke of Orleans. The dauphin, who saw it with natural dissatisfaction and jealousy, adopted a measure, common at that period but which could never have been of much effect. He signed a formal protest, at Fontainebleau, on the 12th of December, in which he impeached the whole of the treaty, and which was attested by the duke de Vendôme, and the counts d'Aumale and d'Anguien. (*b*) As the losses since the treaty of Nice, had been much greater on the side of the emperor than of Francis, that part of the arrangement which related to them was to be carried into immediate effect; and to insure this, the duke de Guise, Sanguin, cardinal de Meudon, the count de Laval and la Hunandaye, the son of the admiral, accompanied the emperor as hostages to Brussels. The admiral went

(*a*) Recueil de Traités, t. ii. Du Bellay, l. x. Belcar., l. xxiv.

(*b*) Ribier., t. i.

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afterwards to the latter city to procure Charles's signature to the treaty. He found him suffering so sharp an attack of the gout, that it was with great difficulty he could write at all. "See," said Charles, "the price I pay for glory, and behold in my present crippled condition, a more effectual guarantee for my pacific intentions than all the signatures to all the treaties you could devise. How can I wield a sword who am unable even to hold a pen?" (*a*)

The dauphin marches against the king of England, who garrisons Boulogne, and retires.

As soon as he had executed the treaty, the emperor ordered the counts de Buren and Roeux, who were carrying on the siege of Montreuil, in conjunction with the duke of Norfolk, to withdraw from that enterprise, and to disband their troops. Francis had now, therefore, no other invading foe than the English monarch. The dauphin marched to the relief of Montreuil; upon which, Henry, having lost the assistance of his late allies, and being unable to encounter such a force as that which the dauphin brought against him, determined to raise the siege; he, therefore, disposed of a part of his army in garrisoning the fortress of Boulogne, of which he appointed lord Lisle the commandant, and retreated with the rest to Calais, whence he embarked for England.

The dauphin makes an ineffectual attempt to recover Boulogne.

The dauphin made an effort to recover Boulogne, and as there were some large breaches in the wall, which the English had not had time

(*a*) Gaillard adds shrewdly, "Cette garantie étoit assez foible: on n'a pas toujours la goutte; d'ailleurs les rois ont tant de bras!" l. vi. c. 6.

to repair, his enterprise was near succeeding. The vigour and alertness of the defenders, and some negligence on the part of the assailants defeated the attempt. They had taken a part of the lower town, which the soldiery stopped to plunder instead of pursuing their advantage. The English then made a sally, which took them somewhat by surprise, and although the French had the advantage in numbers, they were driven out with considerable loss. Fonquessolles, who led the expedition, was killed, and de Thais, the second in command, badly wounded with an arrow. Montluc, who was engaged in this affair, received four bolts in his buckler and armour, which, he says, he carried to his quarters for his share of the booty taken at Boulogne. The dauphin after this retired, having strengthened the garrison of Montreuil by way of check to that of Boulogne, and thus the campaign for the season terminated. (*a*)

Termination of the campaign.

(*a*) Montluc's account of this affair is extremely amusing. He is sorely perplexed between his reluctance to admit that his party was defeated and the necessity of telling the truth. The complacency with which he speaks of his knowledge of English is irresistible. "Tout à un coup voici une grande troupe d'Anglois qui venoient, la teste baissée, droit à nous qui estions devant l'église, et en la rue ioignant à icelle, criant, '*Vuho, goeht, there?*' c'est à dire, 'Qui va la?' Je leur respondis en Anglois, '*Afrind, afrind:*' qui veut dire, 'Amis, amis;' car de toutes les langues qui se sont meslées parmy nous, i'ai apprins quelques mots, et passablement l'Italien et l'Espagnol; cela m'a par fois serui. Comme ces Anglois eurent fait d'autres demandes, et que je fus au bout de mon Latin, ils poursuivirent en criant, '*Quil! Quil! Quil!*' c'est à dire, 'Tue! Tue! Tue!'"

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*Naval expedition against England—State of the French navy—Francis inspects his fleet—Loss of La Carraquon—The fleet sails for England—Operations on the English shores—The French land on the coast of Sussex—and on the Isle of Wight—The French fleet returns—The execution of Cabriéres and Merindol—Francis endeavours to retake Boulogne—The Count d'Aumale is dangerously wounded—The French attack the Terre d'Oye—Francis opposes the passage of the Germans—The siege of Boulogne is continued—Negociations for a peace with England—the peace is concluded—Death of the Duke of Orleans—Consequences of his death—The emperor refuses to fulfil the treaty of Crespy—Francis fortifies his frontier towns.*

## CHAPTER XXI.

1545. Naval expedition against England.

FRANCIS having, by the treaty of Crespy, quieted the most troublesome of his foes, directed all his energies towards encountering the enemy that remained, and whom he hoped to drive out of his realm. The capture of Boulogne, besides the practical inconvenience and injury which it worked, was such a disgrace to the French arms, as neither the king nor his subjects could quietly endure. The place was however so strong, that while it was succoured from the sea by the English navy, there was no chance of retaking it; and Francis, who had been sedulously employed for some time past in increasing his maritime force, resolved upon a naval expedition, and either to encounter the English fleet on the seas, which they had made almost their own empire, or to withdraw them from his coasts by attacking theirs.

State of the French navy.

The office of admiral, which d'Annebaut held, now became something more than a mere title of dignity. The fleet was assembled at Havre, and was found to consist of one hundred and fifty round ships, as vessels of war were then called, and of sixty of a smaller rate. The baron de la Garde, who, before his successful expedition to Constantinople, and his other services,

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had been known by the more obscure appellation of captain Paulin, commanded the king's galleys at Marseilles, and was ordered to repair with them to Havre. These vessels, which were commonly used only on the shores of the Mediterranean, were very ill adapted for such a voyage as that they now made, and which they nevertheless performed very successfully. Some caracks were furnished by the state of Genoa; but they were unfortunately lost at the mouth of the Seine, for want of pilots who were acquainted with the navigation of the place.

6th July. Francis inspects his fleet.

The king went in person to Havre, to inspect this armament, and made it the occasion of a splendid festival, at which several of the ladies of the court and the principal nobles were present. He had given orders for a banquet to be prepared on board the largest and best of his

Loss of Le Carraquon.

ships, Le Carraquon, of eight hundred tons burthen, carrying one hundred great guns, and, moreover, an excellent sailer. It was said by an author of that day, that she was like a fortress in the water, the defence of all the other ships in the fleet, and that she had nothing to fear but rocks and fire. The latter was her destruction. While the king and his court were on board, the fire in the kitchen caught some part of the ship, and spread with frightful rapidity. Francis and his companions were hastily put on shore, and every exertion made to arrest the progress of the flames; but in vain. There was only just time to remove a large sum of money, which

had been provided for the payment of the fleet, and to get the other ships out of the reach of the guns, some of which were loaded, when Le Carraquon blew up; and, notwithstanding the precautions that had been taken, did considerable damage.

The admiral put to sea, and arrived on the 18th of July, at the Isle of Wight, where he anchored in sight of the English fleet, which consisted of sixty ships. The baron de la Garde was sent upon a reconnoitring expedition with four of his swiftest galleys, and approached near enough to see the number and position of the English ships, which lay between the island and the town of Portsmouth. Before he had finished his inspection, fourteen of the smaller English ships quitted the port, for the purpose of intercepting him, and it was with some difficulty, that, by dint of rowing, he escaped. The whole of the English fleet, under the command of Dudley, viscount Lisle, soon afterwards came out from the harbour, and began to cannonade the French ships, in the hope of bringing them to a closer engagement. D'Annebaut, however, knew too little of the coast to run so great a risk, notwithstanding the great superiority of his force, and the English admiral, finding his purpose had failed, withdrew his ships behind an extensive sandbank, which forbade the approach of the enemy. The French admiral had the misfortune to lose another of his best ships. The money which had been saved from Le Car-

The fleet sails for England.

Operations on the English coast.

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raquon, had been put on board La Maitresse, the vessel next in size to Le Carraquon, and where d'Annebaut had resolved to fix his quarters, when it was discovered that she had sprung a leak. The money was got out; but the ship was found to be wholly unfit for service, and was sent to Havre to be repaired.

On the following day the French admiral determined to make another effort to provoke the English to an engagement. He divided his fleet into three bodies, placed himself in the centre, committed the several side squadrons to Boutières and the baron de Curton, and took advantage of the tide to approach the English ships so nearly, that he could reach them with his guns. Henry had come in person to Portsmouth, and he had now the mortification of seeing his flag braved by a triumphant enemy. The French guns were so well served, that after a short time, the Mary Rose, a fine ship carrying seven hundred men, was sunk before the king's face, and the Great Henry, the English admiral's vessel, was in some danger. This was however the termination of the triumph of the French; the tide turned almost immediately afterwards, and the English ships taking advantage of it, bore down so resolutely on the enemy, that they compelled them to retreat. The prior of Capua, a brother of Pietro Strozzi, who commanded a squadron of galleys, assisted the retreat of the French larger ships, by annoying their pursuers, and lord Lisle, satisfied

with having repulsed them, recalled his vessels, and resumed the inaccessible position he had at first taken up.

The French land on the coast of Sussex.

D'Annebaut resolved, since he found it impossible to bring the English ships here to an engagement, to make a descent on the coast, which he thought must have the effect of drawing them out, when his own superior force would in all probability insure him a victory. With this view he dispatched a part of his force to the coast of Sussex, where they effected a landing, wholly unopposed by the English king, who, satisfied with the precautions he had taken for the defence of every important point on the coast, left the French vessels to burn unmolested the fishermen's huts at Brighton and New Haven, after which notable exploit they returned to Portsmouth roads. (*a*) The admiral then held a council, in which the practicability of attacking the English ships at their moorings was debated. The pilots and all the more experienced of the naval officers at once pronounced against it; but d'Annebaut, who had promised himself such a victory as had never before been gained at sea by the arms of his nation, was not satisfied until an actual experiment had been made. Some boats were sent to reconnoitre by night, and particularly to ascertain the depth of the water which covered the sand-bank. Their report convinced him that it was absolutely necessary to relinquish his design.

(*a*) Stow, p. 589.

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Land on the Isle of Wight.

He then determined to effect a landing on the Isle of Wight, and for this purpose divided his force into three bodies, one of which was commanded by Pietro Strozzi, another by the sieur de Thais and the baron de la Garde, and the third by the captains Marsai and Pierrebon. Their success was equal to their best expectations, for the prudent precautions of the English had withdrawn from the island at once all who would have defended it, and all that it possessed worth defending. A few soldiers who had been left there by accident presented themselves, and, assisted by some of the peasantry, offered to oppose the invaders. Their efforts were useless against such a force as the French had landed, and after a skirmish, in which Monneins, Marsai, and Pierrebon were wounded, their opponents retired in safety. The French were in undisputed possession of the island; but found it much more difficult to make any use of their conquest than it had been to gain it. A council was held, in which the expediency of keeping possession of the place was discussed. After a lengthened deliberation, this was decided in the negative, on account of the trouble and expense which it must occasion; and soon afterwards d'Annebaut, finding that nothing was to be gained by his cruising any longer off the English coast, and having some intimation that the English fleet was about to receive a considerable reinforcement, deter-

The French fleet retires.

mined to return to France. He sailed for Boulogne, and the English succours coming up immediately afterwards, they followed him in all haste. The wind changing, drove back the French fleet, and lord Lisle had an opportunity of coming within reach of them. Either party endeavoured to gain the advantage of the wind; and in this attempt occupied much time. At length they engaged, but still at a considerable distance; and after a cannonade, which lasted about two hours, they separated without any great damage being sustained on either side; and thus ended the naval expedition against England. (*a*)

The execution of Cabriéres and Merindol.

The baron de la Garde, in his way to join the fleet, had been engaged in one of those hateful persecutions which, under the pretext of protecting the established religion, disgraced the reign of Francis the First. The inhabitants of Cabriéres and Merindol had shewn a great inclination for the doctrines which Luther and Calvin had so successfully promulgated, and which their neighbourhood to Germany and to Switzerland had made these people more intimately acquainted with, than those of the surrounding French district. From being tolerated, as they were at first, they began to indulge in that zealous insolence which is common to fanatics of all descriptions, and not content with pursuing their own system of worship, they attacked that of the professors of the doctrines of the church

(*a*) Lord Herbert. Stow. Belcar., l. xxiv.

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of Rome. Their enemies affected to discover in these proceedings an attempt at rebellion, and as the mere accusation was at that time received instead of proof, Chassanée, the first president of Provence, instituted legal proceedings against them. The principal persons among the reformers of the two towns which have been mentioned, were formally summoned, and on their neglecting to appear, they and their followers were condemned. The sentence which was passed against them, included the whole of the inhabitants of Merindol, and devoted the adult male population to the flames, decreed the confiscation of their goods, and the destruction of their dwellings. The execution of this iniquitous sentence was stayed by the interposition of the sagacious and enlightened Guillaume Langei. Five years afterwards, the baron d'Oppéde, who was then commandant of Provence, represented the whole district to be in a state of revolt, and affected to have discovered an intention on the part of the reformers, to surprise Marseilles. Francis, whose most culpable fault it was to listen too credulously to such statements, was completely imposed upon, and renewed the decree of 1540, committing its execution to the baron d'Oppéde. That officer made his preparations with such secrecy that their object was not discovered until it was too late to prevent them. The levies which it was his duty to raise for the service of the state, had enabled him so to strengthen his

force that resistance was useless, and it was not until a general order was published for the assemblage of all persons in Provence capable of bearing arms that the unfortunate people whom he had marked as his victims began to fear his designs. They then implored the assistance and intercession of the Lutheran princes of Germany, and the diets of the Protestant cantons, who sent an embassy to Francis, soliciting his pardon and compassion for his subjects of Merindol, who had fallen under his displeasure, and offering to answer for their fidelity. Francis replied coldly and shortly to these envoys, that as he had no disposition to interfere with the affairs of their respective governments, he requested them to leave to him the management of his own kingdom. The arrival of the baron de la Garde, with whom d'Oppéde was in communication, had been agreed upon as the signal for the proceedings, which had been long in preparation. As soon as he appeared, d'Oppéde published in the chamber of the parliament the fatal decree, and began his march of extermination. The people of the villages which he had intended to attack, fled at the first news of his approach, and sought a refuge in the mountains, leaving their habitations to be burnt by his troops. On reaching Mussi, the troops, which amounted to six hundred men, divided into two bodies; one to pursue the fugitives, the other to attack Merindol, the inhabitants of which had announced a determination to resist

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them. When however they saw the country about them a prey to the flames, their resolution failed them, they followed the example of their neighbours, and fled to the mountains. D'Oppéde and la Garde set fire to Merindol, and did not stay their furious execution until each roof was demolished. Every human being they encountered was pitilessly put to death, without distinction of sex, age, or quality. More than three thousand persons were slaughtered, a still greater number perished from hunger in the mountains, and the few who escaped found an asylum at Geneva. From Merindol they went to Cabriéres, where though they encountered no resistance, the same sanguinary atrocities were committed. The spirit of Barbarossa seemed to have communicated itself to the French commanders; la Garde exercised upon his defenceless victims the mode of warfare he had learnt in Turkey, and d'Oppéde proved himself an eager imitator of the same unchristian atrocities. Unjust as the decree was, the cruelty of the execution infinitely surpassed it. Two-and-twenty towns and villages were consumed and rased to the ground with an inhumanity which has no parallel even in the annals of the most barbarous people. The fires of the burning houses served to point out to the ferocious soldiery the retreats to which the wretched inhabitants had fled, and the agonizing groans of the old men, the women, and the children,

which terror and fatigue wrung from them, brought their merciless pursuers on their tracks. (*a*)

Francis endeavours to retake Boulogne.

While his naval armament was employed in that expedition against England, which turned out to be wholly ineffectual, Francis had been earnestly endeavouring by land to regain possession of Boulogne. As the facility which the approach by sea had hitherto afforded to the enemy for throwing in supplies of men and provisions had been found to be the main reason of the pla ces holding out, it was determined to build a fort which should command the entrance to the harbour, and the execution of th isproject was entrusted to the maréchal du Biez. The plan, however, miscarried in consequence either of his mistaking the king's orders, or, as was suspected, of his wilfully intending to prolong the duration of the attack on Boulogne, that his own commission might continue. Du Bellay, who was sent by the king to inspect the progress of the works, openly expressed his discontent; and du Biez, pretending to have received an intimation that the English garrison in Calais were about to attack him, at once desisted from prosecuting his first design, and prepared his army to receive the supposed assault of the English. With the exception, however, of some skirmishes, which took place between the besiegers and the garrison of Boulogne there was no fighting.

(*a*) Thuani Hist., t. i. Le P. Daniel, t. vii. p. 905.

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The count d'Aumale is dangerously wounded.

It was in one of these skirmishes that the count d'Aumale received a wound which was universally believed to be mortal, and his recovery from which was considered as nothing less than a miracle. He saw some of his own countrymen engaged with a party of English infantry, which was much superior to them in numbers, and, giving the signal to some gentlemen who were with him, he rode up to their rescue, in the belief that he was followed by his own party. It was not until he was in the midst of his enemies that he discovered he was alone. He fought valiantly and fiercely; and, as the English garrison had determined neither to ask nor to give quarter, he considered himself as lost, but determined to sell his life as dearly as possible. The officer who commanded the English party engaged him, and thrust at him with his pike so effectually and so forcibly, that the weapon, having struck him between the nose and one of the eyes, broke off short, and left the iron and a part of the wood firmly fastened into his head. The count still kept his seat; and, spurring his horse with a convulsive movement, the animal broke through his enemies and carried him off to his tent. The surgeons were struck with consternation, and at once pronounced that the wound was beyond their skill to cure; and by this time the flesh had swollen so much, that the fragment of the lance was nearly covered Ambroise Paré, a man until that time almost unknown in his profession, but

who afterwards attained the highest reputation, and by his successful practice, as well as by his admirable treatises on the art of surgery, did much for its improvement, thought the case not quite so hopeless as his brethren had pronounced it to be. His skill, which was powerfully assisted by the intrepid firmness of the patient, enabled him to withdraw the weapon from the wound, and, after several days of acute suffering, the count was pronounced to be out of danger. (*a*)

The French attack the Terre d'Oye.

Francis, who felt that his honour was deeply concerned in the attempt to regain Boulogne, had determined to be present at the siege in person, but the arrival of some troops which the princes of Germany had agreed to furnish to the English king, induced him to march to La Fére, as well to prevent their joining the English as to provide for the safety of the frontier, by which they intended to penetrate. He, at the same time, transmitted to the maréchal du Biez, orders to desolate the Terre d'Oye, which was in the possession of the English, in order to deprive them of the supplies it might furnish.

The Terre d'Oye is a district of about four leagues long, and three in breadth, lying between Ardres and Calais; it is a marshy land, extremely fertile in pasture, and had, for a long time, furnished the English with cattle and forage. The deep ditches, by which it was surrounded, served to defend it in some parts, and

(*a*) Du Bellay, l. x.

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in others had been erected forts and redoubts. A quantity of soldiers were quartered at various parts of it, and in the middle was a strong town called Marcq, in which there was an English garrison. The communications were so well arranged, that the whole force which the place contained could at once be made available at whatever point it might be attacked. To destroy the fortifications, in which the strength of this hold mainly consisted, was the object of the French king, and the enterprise was one of so much danger and honour, that it attracted the most daring and stirring spirits of the French army. The count d'Anguien, who had won the battle of Cerisolles, was content here to serve under the command of maréchal du Biez. D'Aumale, who had recovered of his wound, and had forgotten it, the duke de Nevers, the count de Laval, and a crowd of other noblemen and gentlemen, joined the forces destined for this attack. Brissac commanded the vanguard, which consisted of some companies of gendarmes and light cavalry, besides the infantry. The old French regiments attacked the principal fort, by dint of numbers took it at once, and made a shameful use of their victory, by putting all the persons they found in it to the sword. When they attempted to proceed further into the country, they, however, discovered that the deep canals which intersected the district prevented their further progress. With great labour, and astonishing perseverance, they succeeded in transporting

their whole force across them, and laid waste the country, up to the town of Marcq. They did not effect this without opposition, but having defeated a body of three thousand Englishmen, who offered to dispute their passage, they were enabled to approach the walls of the town; here, however, the rain and the humidity of the country, joined the efforts of the defenders to arrest their progress, and after a short stay before the place, they were compelled to withdraw, having executed only a small part of their commission. Francis, on receiving intelligence of this event, ordered the maréchal to continue the siege of Boulogne with all possible vigour, and to prevent, with the utmost vigilance, and at any risk, the approach of provisions to that fortress.

Francis opposes the passage of the Germans.

Francis's personal exertions were still employed in providing a check for the German troops, who watched a favourable opportunity for invading the country. To effect this purpose he placed detachments at Meziéres, on the confines of Champagne, and at Guise. They were precluded from entering at any other point, because the emperor had forbidden them to pass through Brabant or Flanders, not so much out of his respect for the treaty of Crespy, as because he wished to save his own territories from the dangerous presence of so large an armed force. The delay which ensued was extremely serviceable to Francis. The day on which the regiments were usually paid arrived; the lanz-

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knechts became clamorous for their money, and the English commissioners, who were not provided with it, sought to pacify them by promises. The refractory Germans would listen to no excuse, and under the pretext that the money was not forthcoming at the moment they expected it, they marched back to their own country.

The siege of Boulogne is continued.

By this time the fortress which du Biez had constructed was finished, and several sharp skirmishes took place in consequence of the attempts by the English garrison at Boulogne to make themselves masters of it. They were attended with considerable loss on both sides, and convinced both Francis and Henry that it was for their mutual interest to put an end to a warfare which was costly and exhausting, and which could produce no important result even to the conqueror.

Negociations for a peace with England.

A negociation for a peace was entered into: lord Lisle, sir William Paget, and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury, being appointed commissioners for that purpose by the English king; and the admiral d'Annebaut and Raymond, president of Rouen, on the part of Francis. They met between Guines and Ardres, where, after a short conference, the terms were agreed to. They were, that the pensions claimed by Henry, and the arrears, should be paid within eight years, and the town of Boulogne kept by the English forces until they were fully discharged. A provision was added, that the Scots should be included in this treaty if they thought fit to avail themselves of its benefit

within thirty days. The subject of quarrel between Henry and Francis was so simple that the conditions for a peace required little discussion, and the treaty having been signed by the commissioners on the 7th of June, was ratified and published in London on the 13th of the same month, and the French monarch was left once more free from the harassing cares of war, and without any cause of fear from external enemies. (*a*)

The peace is concluded. 1546.

His years and his infirmities rendered repose necessary, and he turned himself from a pursuit which had once been his delight, to those which were more consonant with the character of the king of an industrious and enterprising people, and of a man whose repeated sickness had given him intimations not to be mistaken that his stay in this world could not be much prolonged. Soon after this, a calamity befel him, more grievous than all his other sufferings, and which diverted his mind from every thing but the indulgence of his sorrows. The death of his son Francis had deeply affected him; but the numerous other cares which then pressed upon his mind; the threatening presence of the emperor, the danger of his realm, and the necessity for immediate and active exertion, had in a great measure blunted the acuteness of his grief. Now that he was worn out by disappointment and bodily suffering, the sudden death of his fa-

(*a*) Herbert. Sleidan, l. xv. Belcar., l. xxiv.

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vourite son, the duke of Orleans, fell upon him with dreadful force, and recalled his former loss at the same time that it reminded him his former consolation was extinguished.

Death of the duke of Orleans.

The duke of Orleans had been employed in accompanying the forces with which Francis had provided against the entrance of the Germans, who were to have joined the king of England, and had acquitted himself with great talent and activity of the task imposed upon him He had arrived at Forêt-Moutier, a small place near Abbeville, where he was to take up his lodgings. In looking at the apartment which had been allotted to him, there was something in it which displeased him, and he insisted on lying in another chamber which he pointed out. The persons of the house entreated him not to do so, and informed him that the room he had chosen was supposed to be infected with a contagious fever, of which three persons who had lately occupied it, had there died. It was quite true that a malignant fever did at this time prevail in Picardy; but the duke of Orleans, either not believing the assurances of the host, or disregarding them, insisted upon having his bed made up in the room he had chosen; adding, there never was yet a French prince of the blood who had died of the plague. He was destined to be the last prince who could say so; for on the following day the disease attacked him with such irresistible force that medical

skill was of no avail, and he died before there had been time to remove him from the village in which he was first attacked. (*a*)

The news of his death struck with dreadful force upon his father, who had distinguished him by his especial regard, who had mixed him up with that policy for which he had made the greatest sacrifices, and who had taught himself to look on this prince as the representative of his own claims on the Milanese. In this moment of affliction the faults of his youth were forgotten, (*b*) and the bitterness of the parent's

(*a*) Le Féron's account of this matter is, that the dauphin and the duke of Orleans went together into the house of a peasant at Forét-Moutier, when the host immediately informed them that the place was infected with the plague. The duke of Orleans laughed at the notion that there was any danger in staying there; and to prove his disregard of it he tossed about the linen on a bed in the room, and beat some of the feathers out of the bed, which lighted both on his brother and himself. The consequence of this ill-timed jesting was, that he contracted the disease which occasioned his death. (Féron, Rer. Gal., l. ix.) Another account is contained in a letter written to the legates of the council of Trent by the nuncio then in France, immediately after the event had happened.—Appendix, No. XII.

(*b*) The duke had often occasioned great disquiet to the king by the riotous excesses in which he indulged, and which sometimes led to fatal consequences. It was a favourite amusement with the young men at court to turn out at night, and scour the streets, insulting all whom they met. Their chief opponents upon such occasions were the servants and retainers of the gentlemen and officers who were in attendance, and who not unfrequently resisted this aristocratic insolence with a pertinacity which was somewhat

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grief was enhanced by the reflection that he had committed some injustice towards his elder son, in the partiality which he had shewn to the duke of Orleans, from motives which his sense of right could not justify.

Consequences of his death.

The duke of Orleans was of a character to inspire great regard among the persons by whom he was surrounded. He was gay and good-natured, and although his high spirits and his prompt courage sometimes led him into acts of rashness, there was no part of his conduct but which might have been palliated, if not pardoned, on the score of his youth. His own good qualities and the intrigues of the duchess d'Etampes had made him the favourite of a faction in the court, and had secured the king's countenance

dangerous. One night when the court was at Amboise, the duke and some of his companions resolved to sally out and clear the bridge of all persons whom they might find there. The servants who chanced to encounter them, and who were the main object of their attack, happened on this occasion to be much more numerous than their assailants. A contest ensued, in which the duke was severely wounded, and Castelnau, a gentleman of his party, killed; and the fight was not put an end to until one of the noblemen, whose discretion overcame his valour, pronounced the duke's name; upon which the lacqueys fled in great terror. On the following day, when the king had been made acquainted with the affair, he reproved the duke with a severity which the occasion justified, and, alluding to the fate of Castelnau, he said to him, "Vous pouvez vous perdre. L'état se passera bien d'un fou, mais il a besoin du sang de la noblesse, et ce sang n'est pas fait pour couler au gré de vos caprices."—Brantome, Francois Ier.

to his party. His death however crushed at once all the hopes which that treacherous and selfish woman had cherished, and at the same time deprived the king and the nation of such benefit as they had hoped to derive from the treaty of Crespy. Charles at once, and without hesitation, insisted, that the death of the dauphin had freed him from all the obligations to which he had bound himself by the treaty. The grounds upon which he had consented to give up either the Milanese or the Low Countries, as his choice might have determined, were that his daughter or his niece should be married to the duke of Orleans. The death of that prince had rendered this impossible, and had placed the emperor in the same situation as before the treaty had been proposed. To this reasoning, which, if it had been all that the case admitted of, would have been unanswerable, the French king replied that he had a claim upon the Milanese wholly independent of the treaty of Crespy; that as the object of that treaty was to benefit his son, he had been silent as to his own unquestionable rights; but now that the same reason for his forbearance no longer existed, he meant to assert them.

The emperor refuses to fulfil the treaty of Crespy.

Francis, however, had no wish to renew the war which had been so lately terminated; and in order at least to attempt a pacific arrangement of the dispute between himself and the emperor, he sent d'Annebaut and his chancellor, Olivier, to propose to him a new treaty which

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should supply that of Crespy, now become useless in its main propositions. The emperor met this, which was on Francis's part a candid proceeding, with his usual duplicity. He was then engaged in an enterprise, to which a rupture with France would be extremely unfavourable. The league of Smalkalden had become extremely powerful; all the protestant princes of Germany had joined it, and, conscious of their strength, all were ready to maintain their independence of the imperial control by force of arms. Charles determined to attempt to subdue them, but to effect this a large army was necessary, and much greater pecuniary funds than Charles's wasted treasury could supply. When the French ambassadors arrived at his court he was on the eve of a journey to Antwerp, the object of which was to procure a loan from the rich merchants of that great commercial city, and he therefore made such an equivocal reply as postponed, for the present, the demands of the French envoys, without implying that he did not mean to comply with them. Having accomplished his errand he returned, and when the renewal of the treaty was again mentioned to him, he replied coldly that he saw no occasion for it; that all which related to the peace between Francis and himself remained unaffected by the death of the duke of Orleans, and that he did not mean to begin a war unless he should be forced.

Francis fortifies his frontier towns.

At another time such an answer to such a proposition would have been considered by Francis

sufficient to justify immediate hostilities. Now, however, he was so far contented with it that he put aside all present thoughts of obtaining redress by an appeal to arms, and employed himself in fortifying his frontier towns and those strong places on which, in case of attack, he should chiefly rely. He visited in person the frontiers of Picardy and Champagne, inspected the works at the several places, and by his praises and rewards encouraged the exertions of the soldiers and workmen who were employed there. At length they were all brought into such a state of perfection that he might have safely defied the attacks of the emperor, whose designs he had too much reason to fear, and of the king of England, of whose friendship he was not entirely assured.

## CHAP. XXII.

*Religious persecutions—Conspiracy of Fiesco—Death of the Count d'Anguien—Of Henry VIII.—Francis enters into a league against the Emperor—Is attacked by a mortal illness—His last moments—His Death—Issue of his Marriage—His improvement of the National Militia—Reforms in the French Jurisprudence—Edict of Villers Cotterets—Severe instance of his impartial administration of Justice—Cujacius—Olivier—De l'Hopital—Institution of Baptismal Registers in France—Neglect of Commerce—Discoveries in North America—The Gulf of St. Lawrence—Anti-costi and Montreal—Public Buildings erected in this reign—Fontainebleau—Saint Germain-en-Laye—Follembray—Villers-Cotterets—Havre de Grâce—Madrid—Conclusion.*

## CHAPTER XXII.

NOTHING shews more forcibly the change which had taken place in Francis's feelings, and the temper of his mind, than the determination with which he refrained from hostilities with the emperor, at a time when great provocation and a favourable opportunity tempted him to an opposite course. The refusal of Charles to entertain the question relating to the Milanese must have convinced him, that the emperor had determined never to yield that province until he should be forced; and that he was careless of even preserving the appearances of that ill-cemented amity which in point of form subsisted between them. The war which he had engaged in against the Protestant princes of Germany rendered him particularly open to attack, and his honour, as well as his interests, if they had been rightly felt and clearly understood, would have prompted him to assist the leaguers of Smalkalden, who were in arms, not more for the protection of the reformed religion than for the preservation of their own liberties and those of Europe, against the insatiable cupidity and grasping ambition of the emperor. But Francis's religious prejudices, always too strong, had grown more blind and violent as his health declined; and the cardinal de Tournon ope- 1546

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Religious persecutions.

rated so successfully on this weakness, that Francis not only declined to assist the German protestants, but continued to persecute with unchristian and unreasonable rigour those of his own subjects whose consciences revolted from the corruptions and tyranny of the church of Rome. The utmost latitude was permitted to the zeal of those who fancied that their duty required them to pursue to death all who differed from their opinions. Persecutions against heretics were begun in various parts of the kingdom; edicts of the most rigorous kind were passed, prohibiting the promulgation of the doctrines of Luther and Calvin, and a great quantity of miserable wretches were pitilessly burnt. Such as were rich enough to bribe their tormentors escaped, others recanted, and others escaped by flight the fate that threatened them, preferring the sufferings of voluntary exile to the intolerant spirit which governed their own country; but in defiance of all these horrors, and in the very face of the terror they inspired, the reformed religion gained strength daily. (*a*)

(*a*) Voltaire gives a striking but somewhat overcharged description of the state of things which religious persecutions had induced. "On brulait d'un coté, et on chantait de l'autre, en riant, les pseaumes de Marot, selon le génie, toujours léger, et quelquefois très-cruel, de la nation Française. Toute la cour de Marguerite, reine de Navarre et sœur de François I., étoit Calviniste; la moitié de celle du roi l'étoit. Ce qui avait commencé par le peuple, avait passé aux grands, comme il arrive toujours. On faisait secrètement les prêches: on disputait par-tout hautement. Ces querelles dont personne ne se soucie aujourd'hui ni dans

The latter part of Francis's reign was so deeply stained with this indelible disgrace as to dim its earlier glories, and his memory is oftener associated with the cruelties which he permitted and encouraged than with those triumphs in peace and in war which he achieved under the influence of a better genius. (*a*)

Conspiracy of Fiesco.

His lingering desire to regain some of the possessions which he claimed in Italy, was not, however, wholly extinguished. The cardinal Trivulzio, the representative of France at Rome, was a man of restless and intriguing spirit, and of considerable ability; he was believed, at about this time, to have entered into a negociation with some of the discontented persons of authority in Genoa, and to have encouraged their disposition to revolt, in the hope of

Paris, ni à la cour, parce qu'elles sont anciennes, aiguillonnaient dans leur nouveauté tous les esprits. Il y avait dans le parlement le Paris plus d'un membre attaché à ce qu'on appéllait *la réforme*. Ce corps était toujours occupé à combattre les pretensions de l'eglise de Rome, que l'hérésie détruisait."—L'Esprit des Nations, t. iv.

(*a*) An attempt has been made to excuse Francis, and to prove that, because the reformed religion flourished, Francis did not persecute its professors. Mezeray replies to this with indignant warmth.—"Quoi donc? faire six ou sept edits rigoureux pour l'étouffer, convoquer plusieurs fois le clergé, assembler un concile provincial, dépêcher à toute heure des ambassadeurs à tous les princes de la Chrétienté pour en assembler un général, bruler les hérétiques par douzaines, les envoyer aux galères par centaines, les bannir par milliers; dites-nous, je vous prie, est-ce la permettre on ne prendre point garde? Sont-ce de simples résolutions ou des effets?"

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again placing them under the dominion of France. The historical evidence on the subject is far from being clear, and although there is some strong ground for believing that the cardinal shared in the plot of Fiesco, there is no proof that he was directly authorized to do so by Francis. Fiesco was, of all men, the best qualified for the desperate part he had chosen to act; he was one of the richest members of the state, and his liberal temper and engaging manners had made him universally popular. While he had only attained that time of life in which the passion and energy of youth lend irresistible force to enterprise, he yet possessed consummate prudence, the most deliberate courage, and a dissimulation so profound, as to baffle all human penetration. He had long looked with jealous discontent on the power which Doria possessed in the republic, and although the old warrior made a modest and reasonable use of the influence which his worth and his services had given him over the minds of his fellow-citizens, he had begun to disclose a design which was well calculated to alarm all men who valued the freedom of their country. Doria had selected as the heir of his immense wealth, his grand nephew, Giannetino Doria, and had been for some time busily employed in endeavouring to secure to him the transmission of the power he enjoyed in the common council of the republic. Giannetino had all the faults which commonly belong to one bred in the very lap of luxury,

and spoiled by the excessive indulgence of a doting old man. If he had been more worthy of the honour which his relative destined for him, he would hardly have been more acceptable to the nobles of Genoa; but it was Fiesco's personal dislike and contempt of him which determined that restless spirit to make an effort to break the yoke which the state bore. He applied first to the cardinal Trivulzio, and his design then was, after having driven out the Dorias, to make Genoa as it had formerly been, and to secure for himself the post of commandant or lieutenant, under the protection of the power of France. When he afterwards disclosed his intentions to some of his intimates, whose assistance he thought likely to insure the success of his plan, it at once assumed a different form. Verrina, a soldier of daring spirit and desperate fortunes, unhesitatingly pledged himself to the attempt, but he pointed out to Fiesco that he did not need the help of France, and that he might secure for himself the enjoyment of that reward which his own exertions were to win. Fiesco more dazzled than before with the glorious prospect which the suggestions of Verrina opened to him, adopted them at once, and from that moment he troubled himself no further to gain the co-operation of the French minister. In co-operation with Verrina, Sacco, Calcagno, and a few others, all Genoese, and all men of firm minds, the details of the conspiracy were arranged, and so skilfully devised,

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and so ably and powerfully carried into execution, that nothing but one of those accidents by which a superior power controls human actions could have disappointed its entire success. All Genoa was gained; the streets were filled with the partisans of the conspiracy, the galleys, Doria's great strength, were effectually prevented from interference, the Dorias and their adherents were shut up as in a net. At this moment Fiesco heard a noise from the galleys, and ran thither hastily to provide for the only danger he apprehended. He was crossing a plank to go on board a vessel in the harbour, when his footing gave way, and precipitated him into the sea. His heavy armour incapacitated him from swimming, although close to the shore; the darkness of the night prevented his friends from rendering prompt and effectual assistance; and he perished at the very moment that his success was assured. With him the conspiracy was at an end; his followers were disheartened; and although Verrina made an attempt, by concealing the death of Fiesco, to avert the impending ruin, the vanity of the leader's brother frustrated his intentions, and brought such of the conspirators to the scaffold as were not able to save themselves by flight. The power of the Dorias was re-established. The city offered him a guard for the protection of his house against the attacks of his enemies; but the veteran, declining to accept it, said, "My personal safety is a matter of little importance; the

preservation of your liberties has been the object and end of all my exertions, and the only request that I have to make to you is, that you will maintain them." When he was again urged to accept the guard, on the score of the public safety, which was involved in his own, he replied, "The public safety depends neither upon soldiers nor fortresses; its sole and sufficient strength is in the union of the citizens." A conspiracy was afterwards formed by Giulio Cibo for his assassination, but was defeated, and the guilt of having instigated it was ascribed to Francis, a calumny which deserves no refutation, but which the whole tenour of Francis's life and his known character sufficiently repels. (*a*)

Death of the count d'Anguien.

The death of the count d'Anguien, which happened at La Roche Guyon, was another of the afflictions which clouded over the latter years of this king's life. The dauphin was there with several noblemen of the court, amongst whom were the counts d'Anguien and d'Aumale. They divided themselves into two bodies, and, by way of pastime, one of them carried on a mock siege against a house, which the other party defended. The count d'Anguien commanded the latter, and was about to make a sally against the others, when a chest was thrown from one of the upper windows, which struck him on the head, and so fractured his

(*a*) Thuani Hist., l. iii. La Conjuration de Fiesque, par le Card. de Retz.

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skull, that, after lingering in great agony for some days, he died. It was not ascertained by whom the chest was thrown; but the chief suspicion fell on a young Italian officer, Cornelio de Bentivoglio, who had frequently had some differences with the count. The king, however, for some reason, which was not well understood, desired that no inquiry should be made on the subject; and, although this might have been merely because he was convinced that the count's death had been accidental, a report was spread and gained general credence that Francis feared the result of such an investigation might have proved that the dauphin and the count d'Aumale were implicated in the affair, and that what seemed to be an accident, was a deliberate and foul assassination. There was nothing in the conduct of the dauphin, either before or after he ascended the throne of France, to justify the suspicion that he would have committed or sanctioned such a crime. The count d'Aumale fell himself the victim of assassination at the siege of Orleans in 1563; and although his reputation was less clear than that of the dauphin, there appears not to be the slightest circumstance in the shape of proof, that he had any share in the death of the count d'Anguien. Neither of the persons alluded to had any quarrel with that unfortunate nobleman, and although they might both have been reasonably jealous of the fame which he had gained by his military exploits; such jealousy as that springs from too pure and ho-

nourable a source to lead to a murder, the baseness and cruelty of which would have been aggravated by the circumstance of its being committed at a moment of sport and merriment. CHAP. XXII.

In the beginning of the year 1547 Francis received intelligence of the death of Henry VIII., which seemed to affect him more than could have been expected from the loss of one who in his alliances had been so fickle and so useless to him. But besides that Francis had a strong feeling of personal regard for Henry, he saw in his death one of those intimations which are never without their effect on the minds of ailing men, that his own hour was at hand. He appeared desirous of forgetting that Henry had often taken part against him, and that some of the latest actions of his life had been to invade his realm, and to do him all possible injury; and to recollect only their earlier friendship, and the obligation he was under to him for having assisted to procure his liberation from Pavia. (a) Of Henry VIII.

(a) One of Francis's most favourite sayings was, "La vengeance decéle la foiblesse d'un roi: le pardon fait voir sa magnanimité." His behaviour to the count of Furstemberg, Appendix, No. XIII., is a remarkable illustration of it. Marot has paid him the rare compliment of deserving the affection of his friends more on account of his personal worth than of his rank:—

"Si mon seigneur, mon prince, et plus que père,
Qui des François, François premier se nomme,
N'éstoit point roi de sa France prospère,
Ne prince avec, mais simple gentilhomme,
J'irois autant dix fois par de la Rome,
Que j'en suis loing, chercher son accointance,

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He ordered a funeral ceremony to be performed for him at Notre Dame, notwithstanding Henry's separation from the communion of Rome.

Enters into a league against the emperor.

The affairs of Germany now, however, called his attention from his personal griefs, and compelled him to provide against the danger with which the emperor's success there might have threatened his own kingdom. He offered his assistance to the most influential of the German princes, and proposed to enter into a formal treaty with them, at the same time that he invited Solyman to avail himself of the defenceless state of Hungary, and to attack it with all his force. He sent ambassadors to the Pope, and the other Italian potentates, for the purpose of representing to them the common peril in which the emperor's success in Germany must plunge them; renewed his negociations with the king of Denmark, and entered into a treaty with Edward VI., which settled the limits of the English possessions in France, and relinquished the county of Boulogne.

Francis is attacked by a mortal illness.

But the time had arrived at which Francis was destined to shake off the cares of sovereignty, and to relieve Charles from the apprehensions which his proceedings had excited.

Pour sa vertu qui plus fort le couronne,
Que sa fortune et royale prestance.
Mais souhaiter cas de telle importance,
Seroit vouloir mon bien particulier,
A luy dommage et tort faict à la France,
Qui a besoin d'un roy tant singulier."

The disease which so dangerously attacked him at Compeigne, had never been cured. In the beginning of February it broke out with increased virulence, and was accompanied with a slow fever, which resisted the efforts of his medical attendants to subdue it. Francis struggled against the malady which was wasting his strength, and resorted to the diversion of hunting, which had once been his greatest pleasure. With the decay of his bodily strength, the relish for his accustomed sport had failed, and he travelled with restless discontent from one seat to another, in search of that quiet which was only to be found in the grave. To his attendants, the change which was taking place in him, became daily more perceptible. He went first to Saint Germain, then to La Muette, to Villepreux, to Dampierre, to Limours, where he intended to pass the carnival, and where he remained only a few days, and then to Loche, in Touraine, where he staid longer than at any other place. His malady here, however, increased to such a degree, that he determined to return to Saint Germain, and was on his way thither when he stopped to sleep at the castle of Rambouillet. Although he had intended to remain here only one night, he was induced, by a short respite which he enjoyed from the pain that tormented him, to go a hunting on the following day, and to prolong his stay. His illness soon returned with such force, as to make his removal impossible. The fever became much

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more violent; the ulcer, which was the seat of his disorder, became inflamed; and the pain he endured was insupportable. He felt that his dissolution was approaching, and resigned himself to his inevitable fate with pious fortitude.

His last moments.

He sent for the dauphin, with whom he had a long conversation, wherein, in contemplation of his approaching death, he gave him such advice as his experience had suggested for the exercise of the authority that was about to devolve upon him. He recommended to him the care of his people, and enjoined him to diminish, as much as possible, the public taxes, which the necessities of the country had compelled him to impose. Although this is a piece of advice which dying kings are commonly more inclined to give to their successors than to adopt in their own lives, Francis had afforded some proof of the sincerity of his counsels by the providence and economy with which he had managed the revenues of his state for some years past. Notwithstanding the exhausting effects of his wars, the liberality with which he patronized science and the arts, the magnificence of his public undertakings, and the splendour of his court, he left at his death four hundred thousand crowns of clear surplus in his coffers, and one quarter of the year's revenue as yet uncollected. His advice to his son upon this, as on most other points, was disregarded; the extravagant prodigality of his successor soon

dissipated the treasure which Francis had amassed, and the country's finances presented in the next reign a very different aspect.

Francis's animosity against Montmorenci, or his fear of the attempts to which his late favourite's ambition might lead him, was so strong, that he commanded his son not to recall him; he advised him also to control the aspiring dispositions of the Guises, and not to permit them to interfere with the management of the public affairs. On both points Henry disregarded his injunctions, but the troubled reigns of his children proved the prophetic wisdom of Francis's dying hours. (*a*)

While he endeavoured to guard his son against the evils which he saw were likely to assail him, through the interested practices of these objects of his distrust, he recommended to his confidence the cardinal de Tournon and the admiral d'Annebaut, of whose services he expressed himself in terms of affection and gratitude. The latter, contrary to the example of most of those who had preceded him in his offices, had impoverished himself by his earnest endeavours for the public good. Francis bequeathed him by his will one hundred thousand crowns, a considerable sum at that time, which was re-

(*a*) In allusion to this, Charles IX. wrote the following lines:—

"Le roi François ne failloit point,
Quand il prédit que ceux de Guise,
Mettroient ses enfans en pourpoint
Et tous ses sujets à chemise."

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ceived by d'Annebaut as a gratifying testimony of the king's good opinion.

His death.

On the 31st of March, 1547, Francis died, in the fifty-third year of his age, having reigned over France during an eventful period of thirty-two years and three months. He was buried with extraordinary magnificence, eleven cardinals assisted at the funeral ceremony. (a) The

(a) The funeral oration pronounced on this occasion by du Chatel, the bishop of Mâcon, gave rise to very warm disputes among the theologians of that time. Du Chatel had said, in a phrase of enthusiastic exaggeration, that a soul so pure and virtuous as that of the deceased king would wing its flight directly from earth to heaven. Some doctors of the church took offence at this, and fancied they saw, or could find in it, an avowal by du Chatel that he disbelieved in the doctrine of purgatory, and they sent a deputation to the court, to remonstrate against the scandal to which this unguarded expression had given rise. The deputies arrived at St. Germain at a time when the intrigues and excitement which necessarily attended the commencement of a new reign had so completely occupied the minds of every body about the court, that they could find no one to listen to their complaints. They addressed themselves in this dilemma to Mendoza, the late king's maître-d'hôtel, and who, although a Spaniard, was a careless, light-hearted person. He invited them to take some refreshments with him, and while at table learned from them the nature of their errand. When he discovered that it was nothing more serious than a cavil among churchmen, he said, "Gentlemen, you see we are all very busy here just now, and the time you have chosen is therefore, of all others, the least fit for discussing a matter so grave as that which you are engaged upon. Besides, give me leave to tell you, that I knew the late king's disposition very intimately. He was so fond of moving about, that he could never prevail upon himself to stay long in any one place; and I will answer for it, that if he has been in pur-

heralds, whose duty it was to announce his death, proclaimed him as a prince gentle in peace, and victorious in war; the father of letters and the restorer of liberal arts. (*a*).

Issue of his marriages.

By his second marriage with the queen Eleanora of Portugal, Francis had no issue. By Claude, his first wife, he had three sons: 1st, François, born the 28th of February, 1517, who died at the Chateau de Tournon, in August, 1536. 2d, Henri, who afterwards succeeded to the throne, born at Saint Germain-en-Laye, 31st March, 1519. (*b*) 3d, Charles, duke of Orleans, born at Saint Germain-en-Laye, 22d January, 1522; died at Forêt-Moutier the 9th of September, 1545. The same marriage produced him four daughters. Louisa, born at Amboise, the 19th of August, 1515, and Charlotte, born 23d October, 1516, both of whom died in their childhood. Madeleine, born at Saint Germain, 10th August, 1520, married to James V. of Scotland, 1st January, 1537, and died in the same year. Marguerite, born at Paris, 5th of June, 1523; who was married after the king's death to the duke of Savoy.

gatory he only passed through it, or, at the most, staid long enough to taste the wine there, and then went on his way: you certainly would not find him staying there at this time." The deputies were so struck by the jesting manner of the maître-d'hôtel, that they thought they should lose their labour if they waited any longer, and departed immediately, leaving the purpose of their journey unfinished.

(*a*) Mezeray.

(*b*) Appendix, No. XIV.

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Francis's early inclination for war had involved his country in a series of contests which exhausted its resources, and were the cause of much personal suffering and humiliation for himself; but notwithstanding these unquestionable evils, the results of his administration elevated France to a higher rank than she had ever before held among the nations of Europe, while his individual reputation (his errors being neither forgotten nor extenuated,) shines at least as brilliantly as that of any of the monarchs who had preceded him. It was his greatest good fortune to live at a period when a mighty change had taken place, and when the public spirit was beginning to exert a power then only just discovered; it is his highest praise that he had virtue, discernment, and feeling sufficient to encourage the growth of that spirit and to direct it with all the influence which his rank enabled him to exercise, towards the most useful and honourable ends.

Improvement of the national militia.

A day may arrive when the governors of kingdoms will have learnt that the dreadful practices of war are as injurious to the true interests of states as they are inexcusable on every principle of religion and humanity. In the sixteenth century this truth was as little admitted in the theory of government, as it is recognized in the practice of our times. The young and chivalrous king of such a nation as France, at the period of his accession to its throne, was of all men the least likely to have

outstripped the notions of his age in this respect, or to turn from a pursuit, the first steps in which had been crowned with intoxicating triumphs, and which presented in the distance a prospect still more dazzling. Having once commenced, to retreat was impossible; and although there are many periods of Francis's subsequent life, at which it is evident, that if he could have followed the impulse of his own judgment, he would willingly have withdrawn from the bloody and ruinous game in which he was engaged, yet the conduct and the schemes of his antagonists compelled him to persevere, and to continue, in defence of his kingdom and his people's liberties, a system which he had begun in a spirit of aggression upon those of others. Although, therefore, the blame of having engaged France in needless wars, rests heavily upon his fame; he deserves no less the praise of having carried on those wars with great prudence and skill, and with courage that never was surpassed; while his example and his exertions so far improved the organization of the national militia and raised the character of the French army; that France was in every respect more formidable to her foes, and more capable of protecting herself than she had been at any previous period of her history. He freed the country from the disgrace and burthen of being compelled to resort, in all emergencies, to the assistance of the Swiss mercenaries; and first by curbing their insolence in the field at Ma-

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rignan, and then by introducing the lanz-knechts into the French service, convinced his people that the aid of the intractable mountaineers might be dispensed with. He did more, for he taught Frenchmen that they might form an infantry force which would be equal to any in the world. In 1533 he carried into execution the plan he had devised for a regular national infantry, which he had divided into seven legions, containing 6,000 men in each. The legions consisted of six companies of a thousand men, commanded by a captain, two lieutenants, and two ensigns. They were raised in the several provinces, according to the number of the inhabitants, and so arranged, that upon a very short notice they could be made available for immediate service. It was upon this occasion that Francis composed a treatise on military discipline, which, if it does not add much to his literary reputation, proves that he was profoundly skilled in the science to which he had devoted himself, so far at least as its principles were then known. The chivalry of France had long enjoyed an exalted and well-deserved reputation, and under the genial influence of his reign, they not only maintained that reputation, but seemed to have caught a spirit of romance, that realized the brilliant fictions which the poets of Italy had devised respecting the court of Charlemagne and his more than mortal paladins.

In cultivating the arts of peace, Francis found

a more useful and honourable field for the exercise of his talents, and for displaying his solicitude for his people's welfare. The measures which he adopted towards the reformation of the principles of the French jurisprudence, were of a wise and enlightened character. By a royal edict, passed in 1539, which from the place at which it was dated, was called the edict of Villars-Cotterets, he curtailed the prolixity and expense of law proceedings, and repressed the mischievous and burthensome encroachments which the clergy, under various pretexts, had contrived to make upon the ordinary tribunals of the country. Another and most important object which was effected by the same edict, was the abolition of that barbarous jargon, falsely called Latin, in which the proceedings of the courts were then carried on. Edward III. had in England set the example for this beneficial change many years before, and it had been followed by some of the continental sovereigns. Francis decreed that all the law proceedings in every court throughout his kingdom, should be conducted in the common language of the people.

Reforms in the French jurisprudence.

Edict of Villars-Cotterets.

His determination to have the laws of his realm equally administered, evinced itself upon many remarkable occasions, and sometimes with considerable severity. A gentleman of the name of Jean Desmarets had been killed by a baron of the House of Tallard, under circumstances

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of atrocity, for which even the barbarous customs that then regulated private quarrels, offered no extenuation. The only relative of the murdered man was his grandmother, an aged, infirm, and friendless woman; while Tallard was related to the family of Du Bellay, who exerted all their influence in his favour, and was especially protected by the cardinal of that name. A process was instituted, but "the law's delay" was so skilfully and effectually interposed by her opponents, that the poor old woman found all her attempts to obtain justice from the ordinary tribunals utterly in vain. The duty which she thought had devolved upon her, of avenging her grandchild's death, if it were possible, induced her to form the desperate determination of appealing to the king in person, and at Francis's feet she solicited the redress which was denied her elsewhere. Francis was struck by the appearance of the aged supplicant, and raising her from the ground, asked the particulars of the case. When she had related them, he said, "By the faith of a gentleman, it is not fitting that this lady should crave of me as a grace, that which I owe as a right to every subject in my realm." He promised that she should have justice done her, and the matter being duly investigated, and the guilt of the accused being established, Tallard was beheaded in the market-place of Les Halles, notwithstanding the solicitations of his friends, many of whom

were persons of consideration, and who prevailed upon some of the foreign ambassadors to join in their suit to the king. (a)

Francis's attempts to simplify and improve the jurisprudence of France, were powerfully aided by the exertions of some of the greatest men that are to be reckoned among the professors of that science. The celebrated Cujacius, by his lessons and by his practice, had introduced a more satisfactory and lucid method of acquiring the knowledge which is connected with it; and among a number of other professors who, but for the splendour of his name, would be better known than they are to posterity, may be reckoned Olivier, the inflexible and incorruptible judge, the munificent patron of merit, and the illustrious l'Hopital, who lived to see and to escape from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, in a subsequent reign, although he had been marked as one of the victims. It was under the reign of Francis the First, that general registers of baptisms were for the first time ordered to be kept in all the parishes of the kingdom.

Cujacius.

Olivier.

De l'Hopital.

Institution of baptismal registers.

In the latter years of his reign, Francis, by a strict economy of the public money, repaired some of the evils occasioned by the expenses of the early wars in which he had engaged, while at the same time he was enabled to spare sufficient for carrying on the magnificent public institutions he had undertaken. He neglected,

State of public finance.

(a) Pasquier, Recherches, l. vi. c. 3.

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Neglect of commerce.

through a prejudice which is not perhaps very surprising, to foster the commercial interests of the country, because he was ignorant of the true advantages of which they might be made the sources, and because he thought they would turn the attention of his people from the pursuit of glory, to which he was most desirous of directing them. He, however, increased the naval power of France, and had projected designs which he did not live to realize, for enabling it to cope in this respect with the other European powers. The discovery of America had excited a general spirit of enterprise for similar pursuits, which Francis favoured. Giovanni Verazani, a Florentine in the service of France, had made a voyage, by the king's orders, to the coast of North America, where he made some discoveries. The undertaking was afterwards pursued, in 1534, by Jacques Cartier, a mariner of St. Malo, who penetrated the gulf which is now called by the name of St. Lawrence, which he gave to it because he entered the river on the anniversary of that saint's festival. He discovered the Isle of the Assumption, since called Anticosti, and sailed up the river as far as Montreal. In 1541, Jean François de la Roque, Sieur de Roberval, a gentleman of Picardy, accompanied Cartier on a voyage, in which they established a colony, and made some further discoveries on the coast of Canada.

Discoveries in North America.

We have spoken in another place of the earnestness with which Francis sought to promote

the acquisition of learning and the diffusion of knowledge throughout his dominions, and of his munificent plan for the establishment of the Royal College. In the same spirit it was that he undertook the restoration of some of the most celebrated of the public buildings, and the erection of others in the capital and in various parts of France, and by the generous encouragement which he afforded to the professors of the arts, he inspired a taste for their cultivation, the effects of which were highly beneficial to his people. He rebuilt and decorated the palace of Fontainebleau on a scale of magnificence which had never before been seen in France; and the castles of St. Germain-en-Laye, Chambord, Follembray, and Villers-Cotterets, were equally remarkable monuments of his liberality and good taste. The fortification of Havre de Grace, suggested and completed by him, became one of the most useful defences of the kingdom. After his return from his captivity in Spain, he built a palace in the Bois de Boulogne, which was called Madrid, and in which he spent a great portion of his latter life. The origin of the appellation which was given to this building has been so frequently disputed, that it has become difficult to assign it to its true source. Some antiquarians have said, that it was built in imitation of the citadel of Madrid; but, besides that it bears very little resemblance to that edifice, there seems no good reason for believing that the recollections of the time which Francis had

Public buildings.

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spent there were so agreeable that he would endeavour to perpetuate them. Among the various suggestions to which it has given rise, the most probable seems to be, that Francis used to retire hither from the cares and troubles of public business, and that while here he refused access to all his ministers; in consequence of which it was said, that his subjects saw no more of him than when he was in Spain, and that they therefore, in accordance with their national disposition to break jests upon serious subjects, gave it the sarcastic appellation of Madrid.

Conclusion.

It has been common to institute a comparison between Francis the First and his great rival, Charles the Fifth, the result of which has in no case been satisfactory. There are few points in the character of either, upon which their relative merits can be ascertained by means of contrast; and Francis is indebted for the superiority which has been commonly assigned to him, rather to the more amiable and popular parts of his disposition, than to any greater moral or intellectual excellence he possessed. While human feelings are connected with human judgment, it will be impossible not to prefer the gaiety, generosity, and frankness of Francis to the morose, jealous, and fraudulent temper of Charles. In political knowledge, and in the talents which are requisite to govern a nation, Charles had the pre-eminence; in every thing besides it ought to be decreed to Francis. The damning sin of the French monarch, and that which it is most

difficult to palliate, was his cruel persecution of the reformers; the other vices and weaknesses which he displayed belong to the age in which he lived, and to that corrupt nature which prevails to a greater or less extent in all human beings. But in estimating his merits, it should never be forgotten, that he did much by his own personal exertions and example to raise the character of the French nation, and entitled himself to the appellation in which he most delighted—that of THE FIRST GENTLEMAN OF FRANCE: while his equitable administration of the government of his own people, and his liberal and sagacious institutions, contributed eminently to favour in its advance the march of that improvement which had begun in Europe.

THE END.

# APPENDIX.

## No. I.

(Vol. I. Page 82.)

I MUST now relate what became of the good knight without fear and without reproach, after he had gained the first fort, and been grievously wounded, when he was constrained, much against his inclination, to stay with the two archers. When they saw that the citadel was won, they tore down a door from the first house they came to, and placing him thereon, carried him, as gently as possible, with what assistance they could procure, to the goodliest mansion in the neighbourhood. It was the residence of a very rich gentleman; the same had fled to a monastery, but his wife remained at home in the Lord's keeping, with two fair daughters, who were hid in a hay-loft under the hay. As soon as they knocked, being resolved to put her trust in the mercy of God, she went and opened unto them, and thereon beheld the good knight, borne wounded in the manner that hath been described, who immediately caused the door to be shut, and placed a couple of archers thereat, saying to them: "On your lives see that none come in here except my own people. I am confident that when this is perceived to be my abode, nobody will attempt to enter by force. Your coming to my aid hath hindered you from making some acquisitions; but be under no concern, you shall lose nothing by it in the end."

The archers did as they were desired, and he was carried into a very fine apartment, conducted by the lady of the house, who, falling on her knees before him, spoke to this effect, making use of the French tongue: "Gal-

lant sir, I present to you this house and all therein; for I well know that it belongs to you by the laws of war; but be pleased to spare our honour and our lives: my own, and those of two young daughters that my husband and I have, now at an age to marry." The good knight who never harboured an evil thought, replied to her: "Madam, it may be that I shall not recover from this wound of mine; but, while I live, no wrong shall be done either to you or to your daughters, any more than to myself. Only keep them in their chambers; let them not be seen, and, I can assure you, there is no man in my house who will presume to enter any place contrary to your pleasure; and I must, at the same time observe that you have a gentleman under your roof who will not plunder you, but show you all the civilities in his power." When the good lady heard him speak thus virtuously, she was quite comforted.

* * * * *

The lady of the house, who always looked upon herself, her husband, and children, as his prisoners, and likewise all the goods and chattels she possessed as his property, this being the case with the other houses that had fallen into the hands of the French, had many imaginations, considering in her own mind that if her guest chose to treat her and her husband rigorously, he might take from them ten or twelve thousand crowns, they having an income of two thousand. So she resolved to make him some handsome present, and, having discovered how worthy a man he was, and of how noble a heart, believed that he would be graciously pleased to be satisfied therewith.

On the morning of the day when the good knight was to depart after dinner, his hostess entered his apartment with one of her servants carrying a little steel box; she found him resting himself in a chair, after having walked up and down a good deal to exercise his leg by little and little. She fell upon both knees: but he immediately

raised her, and would not suffer her to say a word, till she was seated by his side. Then she began her discourse in the following manner: "My Lord, the favour that God shewed me when the town of Brescia was taken, in directing you to this house of ours, hath proved no less than the saving my husband's life, and that of myself and of my two daughters, together with their honour, which ought to be still dearer to them. And moreover since your arrival here, neither have I nor hath the least of my people received the smallest offence, but perfect courtesy, and your men have not taken of the goods they found here the value of a farthing, without paying for it. My lord, I well know that my husband, myself, my children, and all of this household, are your prisoners, and that you may deal with them and dispose of them, according to your good pleasure, as likewise of the goods herein contained. But being well acquainted with the unparalleled nobleness of your heart, I am come most humbly to supplicate that you will deign to have compassion upon us, behaving towards us with your accustomed liberality. Here is a little present which we make you, be pleased to take it in good part." Then she took the box which the servant held, and opened it before the good knight, who saw that it was full of goodly ducats. The worthy gentleman, who never in his life set any value on money, fell a laughing, and said: "Madam, how many ducats are there in this box?" The poor woman feared he was offended at seeing so few; and replied, "My lord, there are only two thousand five hundred; but if you are not content therewith, we will produce a larger sum." Then he said, "On my honour, madam, had you given me a hundred thousand crowns, I should not stand so much beholden to you as I do for the good entertainment and the careful attendance I have received at your hands; be assured that wherever I may be, you shall have a gentleman at your service, as long as God permits me to live. For your

ducats, I will none of them; I thank you, but take them back. All my life long I have loved men better than money, and think not but I shall go away as well satisfied with you, as if this town were at your disposal, and you had given it to me." The good lady was astonied at seeing her present neglected, and threw herself again on her knees; but the good knight allowed her not to remain long in that posture, and, as soon as she was raised, she said: "My lord, I shall for ever esteem myself the most unfortunate woman in the world, if you will not accept the trifling gift I offer you, which is nothing in comparison of the courtesy wherewith you have hitherto treated me, and, of your great goodness, are treating me still." When the good knight saw her thus resolute, and that she made the present with her whole heart, he said to her, "Well then, madam, I take it for love of you: but go fetch your two daughters, for I wish to bid them farewell." The poor woman overjoyed that her present had at length been accepted, went to seek her daughters, who were exceedingly comely, amiable, and well-instructed, and had greatly solaced the knight during his illness, as they were accomplished singers and players on the lute and the virginals, and could work very well with the needle. So they were brought before the good knight, who while they were getting ready, had divided the monies into three portions, two of a thousand ducats and another of five hundred. On arriving they threw themselves on their knees, but were immediately raised. Then the elder spoke thus: "My lord, these two poor maidens whom you have vouchsafed to preserve from all injury, come to take leave of you, most humbly thanking your lordship for the favour they have had shewn them, for which, as they can make no other return, they will be ever bound to offer their prayers to God in your behalf."

The good knight, almost weeping to see so much meekness and humility in these two beautiful girls, replied thus: "Young ladies, you are doing what I ought

to do; that is, thank you for your good company, on which score I hold myself greatly in your debt. You must know that military men are not usually furnished with pretty toys to present to ladies. For my part I am sorry that I have none such to bestow on you, as is my duty. The good lady your mother hath given me these two thousand five hundred ducats, which you see on the table; I present each of you with a thousand, to aid you in marrying; and by way of return, you will be pleased to call upon the Lord for me; I ask nothing else of you."

So he put the ducats into their aprons, whether they would or no: then he addressed himself to his hostess and said: "Madam, I accept these five hundred ducats, to be distributed, for my behoof, among the poor Nuns of the convents that have been pillaged; I give you charge of them, as you know where there is most necessity better than any one else; and with that I take my leave of you." So he touched all their hands, in the Italian fashion, and they threw themselves on their knees, weeping as though about to be led to execution. The lady spoke thus: "Flower of Chivalry, with whom none can come in competition, may our Blessed Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, who suffered death and passion for all sinners, reward you both in this world and in the next!" Then they retired to their chambers; as the hour of dining was now arrived.

The good knight called his steward, and told him he should be quite ready to mount at mid-day. The gentleman of the house, who had heard from his wife of their guest's great courtesy, entered his chamber, and thanked him an hundred thousand times, with bended knee, offering him his person and all his goods, whereof he said he might dispose, as of his own, at his will and pleasure; the good knight thanked him, and made him stay and take dinner in his company. That ended, he forthwith asked for his horses, thinking it long till he were with

the company he had so anxious a desire to rejoin, being terribly afeard that the battle would take place before his arrival at the camp.

As he was quitting his chamber to get on horseback, the two fair damsels of the house came down, and each made him a present, which they had worked during his illness. One of these gifts was a pretty neat pair of bracelets, delicately composed of fine gold and silver threads; the other a purse of crimson satin most curiously wrought. He gave them many thanks, and said the presents came from such good hands, that he should value them at ten thousand crowns. And to honour them more he had the bracelets put upon his arms, and placed the purse in his sleeve, declaring that he should wear them as long as they lasted for their sakes.—*Life of Bayard*, c. li.

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## No. II.

(Vol. I. Page 115.)

THERE is in the British Museum a manuscript, (*a*) detailing the ceremonies with which the young queen was received into Paris; and which, besides the interest which belongs to it on that account, is remarkable as being one of the most beautifully illuminated manuscripts of the time. It relates only to the preparations made by the municipality of Paris, and purposely omits all mention of the festivities with which the nobles and gentlemen of the court welcomed her majesty. The book appears to have been presented to the queen by the author, Pierre Grigoire, who very modestly styles himself "simple aprentiz des rhetoriciens eloquens, orateurs, facteurs, et compositeurs moderne et François." He says, in his dedication, that he was unwilling that her magnificent and triumphal entry should be forgotten, or not be accu-

(*a*) MSS. Cotton. Vespasian, B. ii.

rately remembered; and this, he says, addressing the queen, had determined him "descrypre et rediger en histoyre ce qui a ésté faict en icelle ville tant à l'honneur du roy et du royaulme que de vous."

The pageant was like all other similar affairs. At the different stages of the queen's progress through the city scaffolds were erected, on which were placed paintings and emblematical figures, expressing the satisfaction of the good people of Paris at the event. The first was a ship, loaded with corn and wine, in which the queen's representative was in the shape of Ceres, and the king's in that of Bacchus; then there were fountains, in the basins of which the rose and lily grew conjointly; his holiness the Pope, the mythological deities, and the cardinal virtues, were jumbled together without much classical propriety; but as the whole display was extremely gorgeous, it probably satisfied those for whose amusement it was devised, as well as if it had been in all respects critically correct. At every show were verses inscribed, and there was stationed a very necessary functionary, called l'Expositeur, whose duty it was to explain the meaning of the allegories. The union of the lily and the rose, and the visit of queen Sheba to king Solomon, were the most favourite of the allusions; the following rondeau relating to the latter is a fair specimen of the general poetry of Messire Pierre Grigoire. They were the verses inscribed under the scaffold on which were represented king Solomon as Louis, and Sheba as queen Mary.

RONDEAU.

Noble Sabba, dame de renommée,
Est venu veoir Salomon le tres saige,
Qui la receve d'ung amoureux couraige
Par sur toutes la prisée et aymée.
C'est la royne de vertus enflamée,
Belle et bonne, vertueuse en langaige,—
Noble Sabba.

Le Tres-Chrestien sachant qu'elle est famée
A print plaisir veoir en son heritage,
Le beau present de paix—vray mariage
C'est ensuyvy dont elle est estimée,
Noble Sabba.

Dessus lequel eschaffault estoit ung expositeur, qui disoit ce qui s'ensuit.

L'EXPOSITEUR.

Sabba royme princesse de renom,
Apporta dons precieulx et richesse
Au vertueux noble roy Salomon,
Qui la receut en joye et en léesse;
Mais Marie, nostre reine et maistresse,
A apporte au roy doulx et courtoys
Present de paix pour Francois et Anglois.

Mr. Ellis, to whose intelligence and research modern history is under very heavy obligations, a load which is daily increasing, has given another song relating to the same affair. (*a*)

CHANÇON FAICTE EN L'HONNEUR DE MADAME MARIE.

Reveillez vous coeurs endormis
Qui des Anglois estes amys
Chantons *Ave*-Maria.
La Thoison d'or et le pourpris
Des chasteaulx, aigles, et des litz,
Joyra dame Maria.
Reveillez vous, &c.

Marie, fille du vray litz,
Henry septiesme roy de pris,
Prince sur tous les princes.
Reveillez vous, &c.

Delyvrera de grans ennuys
Tout Flandres des ses ennemys,
Remontant les eglises.
Reveillez vous, &c.

Rejoissez vous, je vous diz,
Chantez Bourgunynons tous unis
A ce hault mariage.
Reveillez vous, &c.

(*a*) Hist. Letters, vol. i. p. 287.

Car d'icy a nulle foiz dix,
Ne fera ny fut au pais,
Tel paix, tel lignaige.
Reveillez vous, &c.

Nous pryeions, grans et petis,
Que les roys soient tous bons amys,
Et paix par tout le monde.
Reveillez vous, &c.

Et que en la fin en paradis,
Noël chantons tous resirays
De voix et de cueur munde.
Reveillez vous, &c. (*a*)

## No. III.

(Vol. I. Page 115.)

Our own chronicler, Hall, has supplied the deficiency which the "simple aprentiz" has left. His descriptions, always highly striking and picturesque, are in no respect more fortunate than those he has devoted to his own princess's entry as the queen of that which was justly considered the first realm in Europe next to England. He passes over the glories of the "Prevôst des marchands et echévins de la ville de Paris," on which Messire Pierre Grigoire dilates with so much fervour, and is more at home in his account of the jousts which were held in honour of the event, and in which he had the satisfaction of seeing the knights of England demean themselves in a distinguished manner.

"Monday, the vi. daye of November, the sayde quene was receyved into the citie of Parys, after the order that foloweth. First, the garde of the cytee met with her with oute Sayncte Denyce, all in coates of goldesmythes woorke with shippes gylt, and after them mett her all the prestes and relygious, whiche were esteemed to be iii ℳ. The quene was in a chyse couered about (but not ouer her person) in white cloth of golde, the horses that drewe it couered in cloth of golde, on her

(*a*) MSS. Cotton. Jul. A. iii. f. 1.

hed a coronall all of greate perles, her necke and brest full of juels; before her wente a garde of Almaynes after ther fascion, and after them all noblemen, as the dolphin, the duke of Alanson, the duke of Burbon, the duke of Vandosme, the duke of Longeuyle, and the duke of Suffolke, the marques Dorsett .... cardynalles, and a greate nomber of estates; about her person rode the kynges garde, whiche were Scottes. Thus was this quene receyed into Paris, and so conveyed to the cathedral churche, and ther offered, and from thence to the pallayce, where she offered at the holy chapel, and from thence she went to her lodgyng for that nyght, for whome was provided a greate supper and the heraulde a larges, and had to them geven a ship of silver and gylt, and other plate to the valewe of cc. marke, and after supper began daunsynge and pastyme. On the morowe began the iustes, and the dolphin w^t^ his aydes entered the feld; the apparell and bardes were cloth of golde, cloth of syluer, and crymsyn veluet, kanteled together all in one sute. They shewed themselfs before the kyng and quene, who were in a goodly stage, and the quene stode, so that all men might see her and wondered at her beautie, and the kyng was feble, and lay on a couche for weaknes. These entered y^e^ cou'terparte by a rayle for combryng the place. These iustes contynued III dayes, in the whiche were aunswered III. hundred and VI. men of armes and euery man ran VI. courses, and with sharpe speres, dyuerse were slayne and not spoken of: the English lordes and knyghtes dyd as well as the best or any of the other. At the randon and tournay the duke of Suffolke hurt a gentleman that he was like to dye, the marques strok mounsire Gun, an Albanoys, with his spere, and persed his hed pece, and put hym in ieopardy; the duke of Suffolke in the tornay ouerthrewe a man of armes, horse and man, and so dyd the lorde marques another, and yet the frenchmen woulde in no wyse prayse them. At this tornay the dolphin was hurt in the hand,

so that he coulde not performe hys chalenge at the barriers, and put one of his ayde in his rome; the nexte daye after began the fight at the barriers, and because the dolphin was not present, the duke of Suffolke and the lorde marques Dorsett that daye began the feld, and toke the barriers with speres in hand, abydyng all commers. The dolphin brought a man secretly, which in al the court of Fraunce was the tallest and the strongest man, and he was an Almayne, and put him in the place of an other person to haue the duke of Suffolke rebuked. The same great Almayne came to the barres fyersly with face hyd, because he would not be knowen, and bare hys spere to the duke of Suffolke with all his strength, and the duke him receiued, and for all his strength put hym by strong strokes from the barriers, and with the but ende of the spere strake the Almaine that he staggared, but for al that the Almayne strake stro'gly and hardly at the duke, and the iudges suffered many mo strokes to be foughten then were appointed, but whe' they saw the Almayne rele and staggar, then they let fall the rayle betwene them. The lorde marques Dorsett at the same time, euen at the same barre, fought with a gentleman of Fraunce that he lost his spere, and in maner withdrewe: when the rayle was let fal, these two noble men put up their visers, and toke ayer, and then they tooke swerdes with poynct and edges abated, and came to the barriers, and y^e^ Almayne foughte sore with the duke, which imagined that he was a person sett on for the nonce, but y^e^ duke by pure strength tooke hym about the necke, and pomeled so aboute the hed that the bloud yssued out of hys nose, and then they were departed, and the Almayne was conueyed by the dolphin lest he should be knowen. These twoo noble men of Englande that day fought valiantly diuerse feates, and the Frenchmen likewise nobly them defended; but it happened the lord marques one time to put for his aide his you'gest brother, called the lorde Edwarde Grey;

of the age of XIX yere; and to hym was put a gentleman of Fraunce of greate stature and strenght, to the intente to plucke hym ouer the barres, but yet the younge lorde was of suche strength, powre, and pollecy, that he so stroke his aduersarie that he disarmed hym al the face bare. Thus was these entrepryces fynished to the laude of al parties, and thenglyshmen receyued much honoure and no spott of rebuke, yet they were princly sett at and in many ieopardies; for the declaraçion of this triumphe he that sawe it can tell howe goodly the coursers trotted, bou'ded and quickly turned: how valiantly the men of armes behaued them selfes, and howe the duke of Borbones bende was apparelled and bassed in tawny veluet and clothe of syluer clowdy; the bende of therle of Sayncte Polle apparelled and barded in purple velvet, all to cutt on purple satten; the enfante of Arragon, sonne of Frederycke, last kynge of Naples, and hys bende, al in clothe of golde and syluer paled. This lord was but young, but was very towarde. The duke of Vandosme and his bende, in clothe of golde and pluncket veluet. The dolphin and hys aydes were euery daye newe apparelled at his coste, one day in sylver and golde, another in crymesyn veluet and yelowe veluet, and another daye in white veluet and grene, some daye myrted with satyn, some daie embrawdered, some daye pounced with golde, and so euery daye in chaunge as the woorkers fantasye coulde devyse, but the Englishemen had euer on their apparell red crosses to be knowen, for loue of ther cou'tre: at thys triumphe the countie Galeas came into the place on a jenett trapped in blewe satten, and he hymselfe lykewyse apparelled, and ran a corse with a spere, whiche was at the hed v. ynches on euery side square, that is, xx ynches about, and at the bur IX. ynches square, that is, XXXVI. ynches; this spere was massy tymber, and yet for al that, he ra' clearre with it a long course, and slightely anoyded it, to hys great honour."

## No. IV.

(Vol. I. Page 174.)

*Lettre de Francois I., à Madame Louise de Savoye, sa mère, Regente en France, sur la défaite des Suisses à Marignan.* (*a*)

MADAME,

AFIN que soyez bien informée du fait de nostre bataille, je vous avise que hier à heure d'une heure après midi, nostre guet, qui éstoit sur les portes de Milan, nous avertit comme les Suisses se jetoient hors de la ville pour nous venir combattre; laquelle chose entendue, jetasmes nos lansquenets en ordre, c'est à savoir en trois troupes, les deux de neuf mille hommes, et la tierce d'environ quatre mille hommes, que l'on appelle les enfans perdus de Pierre de Navarre, (*b*) sur le coste des avenues avec les gens de pied de France (*c*) et aventuriers; et parceque l'avenue par où venoient lesdits Suisses, éstoit un peu serrée, et ne fut si bien possible mettre nos gendarmes de l'avant-garde, comme ce éstoit en plain pays, qui nous . . . . mettre en grand désordre, et de ma bataille j'es-

(*a*) This is printed from the text of the abbé Lenglet du Fresnoy, in his *Histoire justifiée contre les Romans*, who says he extracted it from a book intitled, *Desseins de professeurs nobles et publiques, par Antoine de Laval, capitaine du chateau de Moulins; en Bourbonnois, 4to. Paris*, 1613. 266. The author of the latter work states, that he was the possessor of the original letter.

(*b*) These were volunteers, who received no pay, and whose chief privilege in the army was, that they were permitted to engage in the most desperate enterprises, and to form the "forlorn hope." They were principally the younger sons of gentlemen, and their only wealth consisted in their horses and armour. In an enemy's country they lived at discretion, and although their ordinary employment was of the most hazardous kind, they were certain of rapid promotion if they distinguished themselves on any remarkable occasion.

(*c*) The French infantry, so called to distinguish them from the lanzknechts.

tois à ung traict d'arc en deux troupes de ma gensdarmerie, et à mon dos mon frère d'Alençon avec le demeurant de son arrière-garde, et nostre artillerie sur les avenues. Et au regard des Suisses, ils éstoient en trois troupes, la première de dix mille, la seconde de huit mille hommes, et la tierce de dix mille hommes; vous assurant qu'ils venoient pour chastier ung prince, s'il n'eust ésté bien accompagné; car d'entrée de table qu'ils sentirent nostre artillerie tirer, ils prindrent le pays couvert, ainsi que le soleil se commencoit à coucher de sorte que nous ne leur fismes pas grant mal pour l'heure de nostre artillerie; et vous assure qu'il n'est pas possible de venir en plus grand fureur ni plus ardemment. Ils trouvèrent les gens de cheval de l'avant-garde par le costé; et combien que lesdits hommes d'armes chargeassent bien et gaillardement, le connétable, le maréchal Chabannes, Ymbercourt, Telligny, Pont de Remy et autres qui éstoient là! Si furent-ils reboutez sur leurs gens de pied, de sorte avec grande poussière que l'on ne se pouvoit veoir, aussi que la nuit venoit; il y eust quelque peu de désordre; mais Dieu me feist la grâce de venir sur le costé de ceus qui les chassoient un peu chaudement; me sembla bon de les chargir, et le furent de sorti; et vous promets, Madame, si bien accompagnés et quelques gentils galans qu'ils soient, deux cens hommes d'armes qui nous éstions, en défismes bien quatre milles Suisses, et les repoussâmes assez rudement, leur faisant jeter leurs piques, et crier *France!* Laquelle chose donna haleine à nos gens de la pluspart de nostre bande, et ceulx qui me purent suivre, allasmes trouver une autre bande de huit mille hommes, laquelle à l'approcher crie étions qui fussent lansquenets; car la nuit éstoit déjà bien noire. Toutefois, quand ce vint à crier *France!* je vous assure qu'ils nous jetèrent cinq ou six cents jusques au nez, nous monstrant qu'ils n'éstoient point nos amis. Nonobstant cela si furent-ils chargés et remis en dedans leurs tentes,

en telle sorte qu'ils laisserent de suivre les lansquenets, et nous, voyant la nuit noire, et n'eust esté la lune, qui aidoit, nous eussions esté bien empêches à congnoistre l'un l'autre; et m'en allai jeter dans l'artillerie, et là rallier cinq ou six mille lansquenets, et quelques trois cents hommes d'armes, de telle sorte que je tins ferme à la grosse bande des Suisses. Et cependant mon frère (*a*) le connétable rallia tous les piétons François et quelque nombre de gendarmerie, et leur fit une charge si rude, qu'il en tailla cinq ou six mille en pièces, et jeta cette bande dehors: et nous par l'autre costé leur fismes tirer une volée d'artillerie à l'autre bande, et quant et quant les chargeasmes de sorte que les emportasmes, et leur fismes passer un gué qu'ils avoient passé sur nous. Cela fait, ralliasmes tous nos gens et retournasmes à l'artillerie, et mon frère le connétable sur l'autre coin du camp; car les Suisses se logèrent bien près de nous, si près que j'eusse bien tiré ung etoeuf, (*b*) et n'y avoit qu'un fossé entre deux. Toute la nuit demeurasmes le cul sur la selle, la lance au poing, l'armet à la tête, et nos lansquenets en ordre pour combattre, et pour ce que j'étois le plus près de nos ennemis, m'a fallu faire le guet, de sorte qu'ils ne nous ont point surpris au matin; et faut que vous entendiez que le combat du soir dura depuis les trois heures après midi jusques entre onze et douze heures que la lune nous faillit; et y fut faite une trentaine de belles charges. La nuit nous départit; et mismes la paille pour recommencer au matin; (*c*) et croyez, Madame, que nous avons esté vingt-

(*a*) Francis calls the constable his brother, either in allusion to his being of the royal blood, or to that brotherhood in arms which was common in the days of chivalry, and of which the memory was not yet lost. Vide Du Cange sur Joinville. Dissert. xxi.

(*b*) This is an allusion to a sport which was common in Francis's native province. The etoeuf was a ball of leather somewhat larger than an egg, and filled with bran, which the countrymen played with at a game resembling tennis.

(*c*) This phrase, which has been understood literally by some of those who have commented on the letter, and has been wholly misunderstood by

huit heures à cheval, l'armet à la teste, sans boire ny sans manger. Au matin une heure avant jour prins place autre que la nostre, laquelle sembla bonne au capitaine des landsquenets, et l'ay mandé à mon frère le connéstable pour soy tenir par l'autre avenue, et pareillement l'ay mandé à mon frère d'Alençon, qui au soir n'éstoit pu venir, et dès le point du jour què peusmes veoir, me jetai hors du fort, avec les deux cents gentilhommes, qui m'éstoient demeurés du reste du combat et ay envoyé querir le grand-maistre, qui se vint joindre avec moy, avec trois cents hommes d'armes, et cela fait, messieurs les Suisses se sont jetés en leurs ordres, et délibérés d'essuyer encore la fortune du combat. Et comme ils marchoient hors de leur logis, leur fis dresser une douzaine de coups de canon qui prindrent en pied, de sorte que de grand-trot retournèrent en leur logis, se mirent en deux bandes, et pour ce que leur logis éstoit fort et que ne les pouvions chasser, ils me laissèrent à mon nez huit mille hommes, et toute leur artillerie, et les autres deux bandes les envoyèrent aux deux coins du camp; l'une à mon frère le connéstable, et l'autre à mon frère d'Alençon. La première fut au connéstable, qui fut vertueusement reculée par les aventuriers François de Pierre de Navarre. Ils furent repoussés et taillés outre grand nombre des leurs, et se rallièrent cinq ou six mille, lesquels cinq ou six mille aventuriers défirent avec l'aide du connéstable qui se mesla parmi, avec quelque nombre de sa gendarmerie. L'autre bande qui vint à mon frère fut très bien recueillie, et à celle heure là arriva Barthélemi d'Alvian avec la bande des Vénitiens, gens de cheval, qui tous ensemble les taillèrent en pièces, et moy éstois vis-à-vis les landsquenets de la grosse troupe qui bombardions l'un l'autre, et

others, is in accordance with the tone of badinage which pervades the letter. Francis, when he said that the night parted the combatants, and that they made a mark where they left off, that they might know where to begin again on the following morning, hardly expected that his joke should be taken seriously.

éstoit à qui se délogeroit, et avons tenu bute huit heures à toute l'artillerie des Suisses, que je vous asseure qu'elle a fait baisser beaucoup de testes. A la fin de cette grosse bande, qui éstoit vis-à-vis de moy envoyèrent cinq mille hommes, lesquels renversèrent quelque peu de nos gensdarmes, qui chassoient ceulx que mon frère d'Alençon avoit rompus, lesquels vinrent jusques au landsquenets, qui furent si bien recueillis de coups de haquebutes, de lances et de canon, qu'il n'en réchappa la queue d'un, car tout le camp vint à la huée sur ceulx-là, et se rallièrent sur eux; et cela fait fismes semblant de marcher auls autres, lesquels se mirent en désordre, et laissèrent leur artillerie, et s'enfuirent à Milan; et de vingt-huit mille hommes qui là éstoient venus, n'en réchapa que trois mille, qu'ils ne fussent tous morts ou pris; et des nostres, j'ai fait faire revue, et n'en trouve à dire qu'environ quatre mille. Le tous, je prens tant d'un coste que d'autre à trente mille hommes. La bataille a éste longue, et dura depuis hier sur les trois heures après-midi, jusques aujourd'hui deux heures, sans savoir qui l'avoit perdue ou gagnée, sans cesser de combattre, ou de tirer l'artillerie jour ou nuit, et vous assure, Madame, que j'ai vu les landsquenets mesurer la pique aux Suisses, la lance aux gendarmes, et ne dira-t-on plus que les gendarmess sont lièvres armés, car sans point de faute, ce sont euls qui ont fait l'execution, et ne penserois point mentir que par cinq cents, et par cinq cents, il n'ait éste fait trente belles charges avant que la bataille fut gaignée. Et tout bien débattu depuis deux mille ans en çà, n'a point éste veue une si fière ni si cruelle bataille, ainsi que disent ceux de Ravennes, que ce ne fûst au prix qu'un tiercelet. Madame, le sénéchal d'Armagnac avec son artillerie, ose bien dire qu'il à éste cause en partie du gain de la bataille, car jamais homme n'en seroit mieux. Et, Dieu merci, tout faict bonne chère. Je commencerai par moy et par mon frère le connéstable, par M. de Vendôme,

par M. de Saint Pol, M. de Guise, le maréchal de Chabannes, le grand maîstre, M. de Longueville. Il n'est mort de gens de renom qu' Ymbercourt et Bussy qui est à l'extrémité, et est grand dommage de ces deux personnages. Il est mort quelques gentilhommes de ma maison, que vous sauvez bien sans que le vous réscrive. Le prince de Talmond est fort blessé, et vous veux encore assurer que mon frère le connétable et M. de Saint Pol ont aussi bien rompu bois, que gentilhommes de la compagnie quels qu'ils soient, et de ce je en parle comme celui qui l'a vu, car ils ne s'epargnoient point plus que sangliers échauffés. Au demeurant, madame, faites bien remercier Dieu partout le royaume de la victoire qu'ils luy a pleu nous donner, car je lui suis plus tenu qu'a gentilhommes du royaume. Madame vous vous mocquerez de Messieurs de Lautrec et de Monsieur de Lescun, et de Michau, qui ne se sont point trouvés à la bataille, et se sont amusés à l'appointement des Suisses qui se sont mocqués d'euls; nous faisons ici grand doubte du comte de Sanxerre, pont ce que ne le trouvons point.

Madame, je supplie le Créateur vous donner très bonne vie et longue. Escrit au camp de Sainte Brigide, le Vendredy, quatorzième jour de Septembre l'an mil cinq cent quinze.

Vostre très humble et obeissant fils.

FRANCOYS.

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## No. V.

(Vol. I. Page 175.)

THE author of the life of Bayard has omitted the circumstances which attended the knighting of Francis by Bayard, and has simply said, that "the king, desirous of doing him signal honour, received the order of knighthood from his hands. Wherein he did wisely; for by

one more worthy it could not have been conferred on him." Symphorien Champier has given a particular account of the ceremony, of which the following is a translation:

"The king, before he began to create knights, called unto him the noble chevalier Bayard, and said: 'My friend Bayard, I wish this day to be knighted by your hand, because the knight that hath fought on foot and on horseback in many battles, is held and reputed among all others the most worthy. Now thus it is with you seeing that, in divers battles and conquests you have valiantly combatted against many nations.' To the words of the king Bayard made answer; 'Sire, he that is king of so noble a kingdom, is knight above all other knights.' 'Howbeit, Bayard,' said the king, 'do quickly as I say; no laws must be alleged here, nor canons either, save those of steel, of brass, or of iron. Obey my will and commandment, if you desire to be reckoned among my good servants and subjects.' 'In good sooth, Sire,' replies Bayard, 'since it is your pleasure, if once be not enough, I will do it times out of number, so to fulfil, unworthy as I am, your will and commandment.' Then Bayard took his sword, and said: 'Sire, may the ceremony be as efficacious as though it were performed by Roland or Oliver, Godfrey or Baldwin his brother! verily you are the first prince (*a*) that ever I dubbed a knight. God grant that you never fly during time of war!' Then, holding his sword in his right hand, he sportively exclaimed, 'Thou art very fortunate in that thou hast conferred the order of knighthood this day on so brave and powerful a king. Certes, my good sword, thou shalt be carefully preserved as a relic, and honoured above all others; and I will never wear thee,

(*a*) It is not known at what time of his life he conferred the order of knighthood on the duke of Bourbon's son, who was yet in the arms of his nurse. Journeying to Moulins, he visited this prince, and, at his request made the child a knight.

except against Turks, Saracens, or Moors;' with that he made two leaps, and then replaced his sword in the scabbard."

This sword has been lost. Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, requested it of Bayard's heirs. One of them, Charles du Motet, lord of Chichiliane, sent him in default of it the battle-axe which Bayard had made use of. The duke told the Dauphinese gentleman, when he wrote to thank him for this present, "that in the midst of the pleasure he felt at beholding this weapon, placed in the worthiest part of his gallery, he could scarce choose but regret that it was not in such good hands as those of its original owner."—*Life of Bayard*, English translation, vol. ii. p. 275.

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## No. VI.

(Vol. I. Page 455.)

*MSS. Harl. No.* 282.

THIS is a letter written by Wolsey to Pace, who was at that time the English king's secretary at the emperor's court. It rehearses the contents of a set of Pace's dispatches with great minuteness, and at once explains the state of feeling which prevailed at the imperial court, and in the mind of Bourbon, and is a good specimen of the prolix but able style in which all Wolsey's dispatches are written. The whole document is too long for insertion; but the extract which follows is all that relates to the contents of Pace's letters.

"Master secretarye, I comende me unto you in my most herty manner, ascertaynyng you that the viij$^{th}$ day of this instant month of July arryved here, sending your lres sent by a special curro$^{r}$ unto Meghlyn, and from thens hither by the king's post: whereof oon was directed unto the king's highnes & to me jointely, ij other unto me apart, and a post scripta with the copie of another

therein copied, addressed unto the king's grace and to me. Ther was also w^t^ the said lres on estymate of the monethly charge of the duke of Burbon's armyes, a memorial in frenche delyvered unto you by the duke of Burbon, mencionyng what is requisite to of ij things to be don for the best advancement of the present affaires. A letter of the duke of Burbon's directed to the king's highnes, oon from the same duke to me, oon from the viceroy of Naples to the king's grace, and oon from hym unto me, oon from mons^r^ Pontivers to the king's grace, and oon to me, and oon from the mques of Piscare, addressed unto the king's highnes. Al the said lres bearing date at Savalian the xxv^th^ day of the last moneth, except those of the viceroy of Naples, which were dated the xxiiij^th^ Jay. In the gretter of your said lres to me directed, after rehearsal made of such advrtisements as ye by your former lres made unto the king's highnes & to me of the state, nombre, qualites & intent of that armye ye ful discretely shew and declare what further things were then succeded worthy advrtisement, as wel concernyng the progresse of that army passinge towards Nice, as also the con'fa'con & conclusion taken bytwene the duke of Burbon & you for making of his othe after the forme in the said copye thereof comp'sed, w^t^ such other devises as the duke of Burbon had with you touching the effect of the said bil, in french, by him to you delyvred, and what he thought expedient to be don on the king's ptie, what the charge also of that armye amount unto monthely, desyring the king's higness and me to pondre that matre accordingly for the king's honor and profite and recovrey of his righte in France. Saying further that if the king's grace wol put to his hand and not let slip the grete and evident occasion he hathe to recovre the crown of France, the said duke putteth no doubte by the aide of his intelligenc to expelle totally the Frenche king out of France, and to set the crowne of that realme upon the king's hed as true enheritor there, making

sure by meane of his intelligence that the king shall not only recovre som possession of his enheritance in France, but the hole realme as he saith. In the same your lre also after a protestacion made upon your fidelite to the king, that ye nothing write upon hasty credence or for private affeccion, but such things only as are grounded upon evident reason, ye ful substancially declare the grete wisdome and vertue whiche ye finde in the duke of Burbon, and how ye see hym utterly determyned to serve the king's grace truely and faithfullye in the recovre of his croune of France, and neither to make practice to be king himself, nor to suffre any other there, save only the king's highnes. Declaring also the grete puissance and valiauntnes of that armye, with their sure disposicion to serve the king's grace, the grete importance of the duke of Burbon's person, & of his intelligence with France, w^t^ the feblenes of the power of the Frenche king—concluding finaly that these things considred, reason shall declare the reste, and what shal be don on this side in iijj or iij monethes, adding that if the king's grace shal neither pass p'sonally into France ne send his lieuten'nt; it is to be feared that after Province & Burbonoys won (if it so fortune) that army shal make no further progresse for the king's p'pose. Wheras if the king's grace passe the see, the said duke wol joyne his armye w^t^ him. And last of all ye declare in your said lres for howe long tyme that armye is furnyshed with moneye, requy'ring me to debate howe in cace the king's grace sit stil this somer, the same may be entertayned in France, w^t^ their disposicion to strike batail, whiche as ye write can not be but evry way to the king's benefit. Ye desire me also to note your opynyon which is that ye think expedient that at the lest the king's grace shuld advance his own parson to Calais, & to lye there as wel for the brute and fume that may arise therof, as for the fear that it myzt induce to thenemye, and cumforte to the duke of Burbon, and also to be nerer to

here from you, and in beter redynes to do that shal be most to his p'pose. In the gretter also of your said lr'es, directed to the king's highness and to me jointely, ye, like a true & faithful counsellor, do for the discharge of your own conscience, what so evr shal chance of your p'son in this time of the werres, declare your mind & opynion touching such p'tenses as be set forthe by the Poope's holynes for truce or peace, making mencion of two wayes, without oon of whiche ye do think the king's highnes can have none honorable end of the ent'prse begon; that is tosay—a notable exploit of warre, or condicions of peace, wherby it may appere that somthing is gotten by thise last warres over and above that which was had before shewing therin, also the ferme mind of the duke of Burbon to do unto the king's highnes true & faithfull s'rvice for recovery of the crown of France, myndyng, for no practises, to declyne from that p'pose, so he may be reasonably entertayned betwene the king's grace and thempor (the emperor) & not cast away. Adding that ye do evidently see that by his meanes the king's highnes shall not only recovre the crowne of France, God willing, but also by his meanes keep the same. And finally declaring as the king's highness and I never thought otherwise, your sincere proceeding, clere from any p'ticular affeccion, save oonly to see the king's highness recovre his right in France. Your smaller lre directed to the king's highnes and to me, was oonly for direccion of the copie of the said othe therin closed, which othe the king's highnes and I like veray wel, specially sens it could be opteyned in non other forme. And finally, as your other lres, apart to me directed, w'tten after that the duke of Burbon was veray religiously confessed and con'crated, ye with right effectual words, desyring me for the love I have to the king's p'son, honor, and exaltacion to regard that your l're, above all others, w'ten by mature deliberacion, affirm that ye do see in the duke of Burbon so

feithful and so stedfaste minde w'oute vacillacion to helpe the kinge to his crowne of France, that if he be assuredly enterteyned the king shall assuredly obteyne his crowne in France, thinking expedient that the king's grace with all diligence do assure hym of hys good mynde and enterteynment, and shewing what practices he made to recovre him to the Frenche king by those which affirme that the king's grace will make peax or trieux w'oute hym; ye declare also the veray goode words spoken unto you by the said duke immediately after he was con'crate, touching his promise upon his faithe to put the crowne of France upon the king's head, or els his hands to be cut off. With many other his loving and good demonstracions sounding to that matier, concluding last of all that to speak unto me boldly, if I do not regarde the premyses, ye wol impute unto me the losse of the crowne of France; as your said letters written and couched in right effectual and playn maner do purporte more at large. All which premyses I have not only showed, red, and declared unto the king's highnesse, but also his grace, I and other of his secret counsaile, have substancially perused, digested, debated, and consulted upon all and singular the material poynts mencioned in the same. And p'ceyving how like a trew, diligent, and substanciall counsellor, ye do endeavour and applye yourself plainly to notifye and declare unto the king's highnesse and to me, as wel the state and proceedyng of that armye, as also the relacions and sayings of the duke of Burbon and others unto you; and fynally, your ferme mynde and opynyon concernyng those affaires ye may be sure that the king's grace is highly well contented with your demeanour and acquitail, geving unto you herty thanks for the same, like as I do the semblable for my parte. And to the intent that these matiers whiche be of high weight, moment, and importance, like as ye to your laude, & prayse seriously & playnly have cowched your said letters, ample & ordinate answer may be as

aperteyneth. I shall first notifie unto you to be kept and . . . . . unto yourself and for your . . . . . and instruccion, what things have been here pondred & considered by the king's highnesse and his discrete counsail upon the contents of your saide letters. And afterwards I shal in the later parte of these p'sents informe you the king's pleasure for answer to be made unto the duke of Burbon upon all & singular the promysses. And albeit ye shall not find the opynions of the king's highness & his said counsail, conformable in every thing to that which ye write, ye shal not m'veile ne thinke that yor letters, declaracions, and a'vice given in the same be taken or accepted here, but as things proceding from a right, sage, discrete, true, & herty counsaillor; and like as every man's opynion in counsail, is requisite to be herd to the intente that oute of sundry reasons and introduccions, the fruste and beste parte thereof may be by deleberate avice and concorde chosen and taken to out of the contents of your said letters, diverse notable things be gadred, whereby the king and his counsail, by your advtisement, be much the more . . . . . howe to resolve and determine the present affairs which inasmoche as for this p'tie, they be better knowen here by us that be present than they can be by you. Being, as ye write, both alone, there w'onte assistance of any other of the king's counsail, and also not possible to be ascerteyned in the specialties of all things on this side, as if ye were here present, coude not be so thoroughly digested & profoundly considered by you there as they be and may be here. Which thing the king's highness & all his counsail ful wel remembre, & do in most thankful man're accepte yr writings accordingly. * * *

## No. VII.

(Vol. II. Page 4.)

*Vitell. b.* vii. *p.* 76.

Monsr;—J'ay Receu les lrès q—— a pleu mescripre, par Monsr, v're ambassadeur, du xve Janvier. Et oy ce qu'il m'a dict de par vous. Vous merciant très humblement de la bonne volunte quantz aux communes affaires et aux miens particuliers.

Monsr despuis v'res lrès escouptés, il nous est advenu la bonne fortune et victoire qu'il a pleu n're Sr. nous donner contre nos ennemys, de la quelle vous ay advertz. Vous et vre bon conseil pouvez assez entendre ce qui est encores à faire, pour le parachevement des communes affaires desquelz ay eu ample deviz avec Messire Roussel, lequel je pus seur vous advertira bien au long de toutes choses que ne vous feray longue l're. Mais Monsr. ne veulx oblier pour la fin de cette ne recommander très humblement a v're bonne grace et gouvenance. A la quelle je vous prierai que je demeure . . . . . que ceste affaire Requert dilligence.

Monsr. je prie v're Sr. vous donner très bonne vie et longue. Escript a Millan le dixme Jor de Mars.

(The Signature has been cut off.)

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## No. VIII.

(Vol. II. Page 113.)

In the Bibliothèque du Roi, MSS. de Baluze, No. 370, is a collection of poems written by Francis I. The most considerable of them is a letter addressed to his mistress, who has been commonly supposed to be the countess de Chateaubriand, in which he describes his illfated expedi-

tion to the Milanese, and the disastrous battle of Pavia. At the commencement are some lines of prose by way of envoi, which commence thus "Ayant perdu l'occasion de plaisante escripture, et acquis oubliance de tout contentement, n'est demoure riens vivant en ma mémoire, que la souvenance de votre heureuse bonne grace."

The poem proceeds thus:

Tu te pourrois ores émerveiller
Pourquoi je veulx maintenant travailler,
T'escrire, vers pour te faire savoir
Chose en effect où tu ne peulx pourveoir,
En te faisant juger en ton esprit
Que bien foible est l'effet de mon écrit,
Cuyder coucher en fini vers, & mectre
Ung infini vouloir sous maulvais maistre.
Ne trouve étrange, amie, si le veoir
Qui tant me pleust a perdu le pouveoir,
Par quoy je viens par ma triste écriture.
Te déclarer ma fortune tant dure;
Te requerant par notre affection
Invisible & sans division,
Poînt ne vouloir prendre mélencolye
De mon écrit, aussi ne de fascherie;
Car tu sçais bien qu'en grande adversité
Le recorder donner commodité
D'aulcun repos comptant à ses amys,
Le déplaisir en quoy l'on est soubmys.
Sçachez doncques qu'en icelle propre heure,
Qu'avec toy plus je ne fais demeure;
Quant je sentis, comme s'elle eust été
Par desplaisir mon infelicité.
Mais renommée envers moi si s'advance,
Me commandant que feisse diligence;
Disant par fer et feu tres ennemys,
Ont grande part de tes pays soubmyz.

Digne ne serois qu'on t'aymast pour tout veoir,
Si maintenant oubliois ton devoir;
Mais avec toy sans simulation,
Désir, honneur, amour, affection,
Ces quatre là compagnie te feront,
En nul peril ne t'abondonneront.
Quand j'entendis que la necessité
Que je marchasse estoit pour verite;
Je m'advançay deffendant mons pays;
Des ennemys à bon droit trop hays.
Que dirai plus trop fut prete l'armée
D'honneur conquerre, & de gloire affamée,
Si feismes tant que nos dits ennemys
Veirent nos tentes & pavillons pres mys.
De passer l'eau qu'on nomme la Durance,
Feismes debvoir & grande diligence;
Mais l'Espaignol tourna la sienne envie,
De combattre pour tost saulver sa vie.
En reculant de son salut sougneux,
Prendre Marseille alors m'est envyeux.
Dont s'en alla perdant toute esperance,
De plus mal faire ne nuyre à la Provence
En mauldissant Bourbon & ses pratiques,
Congnoissans bien ses trahisons iniques.
Avoit un chef avecques eulx louable,
Et de vertu trop fort recommandable;
Celluy estoit pour guerre & paix esquis,
De Pesquiere se disoit le marquis.
Dont par bon sens tons les siens si ralie,
Et droit chemin preignent de l'Italie;
Car à bon droit il estoit l'esperance,
De tout leur camp par vertu & prudence.
Par quoy souldarts lui laissent faix et soing,
De leur salut en ce tres grand besoing:
Mais pour conseil si ne leur peult donner,
Pour eulx saulver, vouloir habandonner
Artillerie & bagaige en effet;
Car sans cela tout eust esté deffet,

Trop estions près & puissans sans doubtance,
Pour combattre sans doubteuse esperance,
Si la fortune sur moy tant envyeuse
D'un trop grand seur n'eust été malheureuse.
Et moy voyant la grande difficulte,
Et de le joindre impossibilité,
Je concluds lors suivre mes ennemys;
Qui ja étoient tous dans les hauts monts mys,
Pour aultre voye & chemin advancer,
Dont point déçeus ne fus de mon pancer.
A tous mes gens je fais grand fête & joye
Pour esprouver cette nouvelle voye;
En leurs disant, ô souldarts & amys;
Puisque fortune en ce lieu nous a mys,
Favorisons la sienne volenté,
Par la vertu de nostre honnesteté,
Et ne craignant des grands monts la haultesse,
Vous asseurant sur ma foy & promésse;
Que si premiers sommes en Italie
Que sans combat guerre sera finie.
Par vertu doncq vainquons nos passions,
Plaisirs, maisons, faut que nous oublions;
Donnons repos par ung peu de souffrance,
Que porterons à ceste nostre France.
Cela leurs dits pour tousjours esmouvoir
La nostre armée à faire son debvoir:
Mais pour certain je congneus bien alors
En la pluspart estre vertu dehors.
La montaigne de neige revestuë
Leur cueur attriste & leur vouloir se y tuë,
Prenant couleur pour mieulx dissimuler,
Que bien failloit premierement aller
Sur le fleuve qu'on nomme la Durance;
Et faire ung pont mectant leur esperance
Que la longueur romproit leur entreprise,
Couvrant leur peur du manteau de fainctise;
Mais l'eau ne veult nullement comporter
Le faix que veoit sur elle à tort porter.

Bien nous monstra qu'en elle a plus d'honneur
Qu'en nos souldarts de cueur & de bon heur;
Car tout soubdain se rendit si petite,
Baissant son cours par trop legiere fuite,
Que nous laissa passer tout le bagaige,
Et camp à gué tant nous feir d'aventaige.
Mais qui pourroit se garder bien d'aymer.
Fleurs tant digne & nos souldarts blasmer,
Ayans faillis que l'eau sans congnoissance
Ait triumphé d'honneur sur leur offence.
Doncq passames suivant notre entreprise,
Estant à nous nouvelle force prise,
Et tant feismes qu'en unze jours pour veoir,
Les champs Lombards peusmes appercevoir;
Et s'il eust pleu dès lors à Dieu permettre.
Que de tous cueurs j'eusse été le vrai maistre.
Pour m'obëïr en telle diligence
Que faict de guerre mérite qu'on l'advance,
Et qu'en la mer l'armée de ma part
De nos ports eust faict diligent depart
Pour assaillir la terre de Sicile,
A nous par droit, réaume très-fertile;
Point je ne fusse aux Espaignols soubmis
Soubs prison triste ésloignant mes amys.
Sans Roy ne fust notre noble France,
Ne si longue n'eust esté mon absence
Mais non pourtant ne laissay l'entreprise,
Tant que rendis Milan subjette et prise;
Mes ennemys fuyans de toute parts
Dans les villes, çà et là tous éparts.
Bien je cuidois la victoire certaine
Et le triumphe emporter pour estraine;
Mais quoi le sort de ma félicité
Fust converty en infelicité.
Par le vouloir de mes chefs en effet
Fut empesché le fruit de tout mon faict.
Ung seul d'entr'eux conduit par passion
Faire au rebours de nostre opinion.

O comme heureux se peult dire le prince
En gouvernant sur tout sa province,
Quand ses subjets de vertu ne font vice,
Ne congnoissant prouffict que son service:
Par quoy je puis à bon droict me douloir,
De ceulx de qui j'ai congneu le vouloir.
Pour abréger en lieu d'éxecuter,
Devant Pavie allasmes nous bouter;
Longtemps y fusmes faisant tout le possible
Mais de le prendre à nous fut impossible;
Finablement les nostres ennemys
Congneurent bien qu'en tel terme estoit mys:
Le leur cité si n'estoit secouruë,.
Qu'en peu de temps pourroit être perduë;
Dont conclurent le dost la secourir,
Tous résolus de vaincre ou de mourir.
Longtemps j'avois remedié au faict
Si mon vouloir eust esté bien parfait;
Car de mes gens soudein je feis partir
Pour seulement servir de divertir.
A Naples droict j'envoyay une bande
La diligence alors leurs recommande;
Mais au rebours ils furent négligens
De tost aller trop paresseux et lents.
Mais quand fortune au rebours veult venir,
De tous desseins l'on voit mal advenir.
Peu me vallut le soin du commander,
Gens en guerre souventes foys mander,
Ne mais aussi les fleuves arrester,
Quand victoire je n'ai pû emporter.
Donc ques le tems passant jours froids & courts
Chemina tant qu'amena le secours;
Des ennemys, cherchant lors le combat,
Et nous aussi voulions bien le débat.
Trois semaines nous fusmes si près mys,
Que plus voysins estions que bons amys.
Que diray-je la nostre fiéreté
En peu de jours perdit l'auctorité;

Sans raison nulle alors la nostre gent
Se refroidir, s'excusant sur argent.
Mais l'ennemy qui eust necessité,
Trop plus que nous feist toute extremité;
De nous combattre ayant grande doubtance.
D'estre rompus sans donner coup de lance,
Dont au matin ils feirent leur entrée,
Dedans le parc, place bien esgalée,
Et nous aussi jà estions en bataille;
Artillerie bonne avions nous sans faille:
Mais par tout vray la leur tout au premier,
Nous gaignasmes, ce ne peult on nyer,
Par quoi la troupe à cheval sans doubtance
Des ennemis tourna en diligence,
Pour secourir, car à la verité
Leurs gens avoient grande necessité.
Lors je marchay avecques esperance
De gain certain sans nulle deffiance,
Treize enseignes de gens d'armes de faict
Feis demourer fermes pour bon effect:
Nos Allemands avec eulx je laisse;
Leurs commandant qu'ils marchassent sans cesse
Au petit pas afin que leur desir,
Fust bien conduit à temps et à loysir;
Et cela faict je retint pour ma bande
Trois enseignes; à ceulx-là je commande
Vouloir marcher, leur priant qu'à l'ouvraige
Congnoistre on peult l'effect de leur couraige.
Dont cheminant nous mismes certes alors,
Toute la crainte et peur de nos cœurs hors.
Bien montrasmes et chascun le peult veoir
Que peu prisions la vie, pour debvoir.
Leurs gens d'armes qui venoient sur leur garde,
En deux batailles marchoient & avant-garde:
Quatre fois plus estoient que nous ensemble
A nous charger, ainsi comme il me semble;
Mais toutes fois si bien nous combatismes;
Que leur grant gloire alors nous abatismes,

Si feismes tant que tous furent remys
Fuyans rompus les nostre ennemis;
Dont de chasser tout joyeux s'advançoit
Nostre gent seure, qui victoire pensoit.
Ainsi chassant une troupe trouvasmes;
De lansquenets, qu'alors aussi chargeasmes;
Mais pour certain bien peu ils combattirent,
Et le chemin des fuyans droit ils tirent.
Picques, lances et leur chevaux legiers,
Je veis fouyr meslez d'arquebuziers,
Tant que je peus leur peur alors convoye
Etant rempli de trop heureuse joye;
Mais comme fust trop soubdain convertie,
Celle esperance en pensée admortie,
Trop tost je veis ceux-là qu'avois laissez
De tout honneur & vertu délaissez.
Les trop meschans s'enfuyoient sans combat,
Et entre eulx tous n'avoient pour débat:
Si n'est fouyr, laissant toute victoire,
Pour faire d'eulx honteuse la mémoire.
Malheureux las! Et qui vous conduisoit,
A telle erreur, ne qui vous advisoit;
Abandonner fuyans en desarroy,
Honneur, pays, amys & vostre roy.
Nos Allemands couvrent leur fuyte entiére,
Disant la vostre avoir esté premiere;
Par quoy perdez d'estrangers la France,
Et des vostres la trop grande assurance:
Certes je crois pour vrai que les meschans
Par tout pays, en villes & en champs
Comptent à tous leurs mérites & faits
Tout de façon que s'ils estoient parfaits
Se deschargeant de leur infameté,
Dessus les morts qui par honnêteté,
Ont mieulx aimé fin honorable prendre,
Qu'aimer leur vie & les autres reprendre;
Mais pour venir à mon premier propos,
Quand indignes de vertus & repos

Je veis mes gens par fuyte trop honteuse
A leur honneur & à moy dommaigeuse,
Triste regret & peine tout ensemble
Deuil & d'esprit en mon cueur si s'assemble,
Autour de moy, en regardant ne veys,
Que peu de gens des miens à mon advys;
Et à ceux là confortay sans doubtance,
De demourer plustost en esperance,
D'honneste mort ou de prise en effect;
Qu'envers honneur de nous fust rien meffait.
Dont combattans furent tous morts ou pris,
Ce peu de gens, qui méritent grands pris,
Et je fus longuement combattu,
Et mon cheval mort soub moy abatu.
Dehors du Parc pensant sauver leur vie
De nostres lors fuyans contre Pavie.
Furent rompus prisonniers & deffaits,
Ceulx-là je nomme en vertu imparfaits.
Assez souvent si me fust demandée
Las mienne foy qu'a toy seul ay donnée. (*a*)
Mais nul ne peut se vanter de l'avoir,
En te gardant d'amitié le debvoir,
Encore que nul salut esperasse;
Je te promets que j'eus bien la puissance,
Désvertuer ma debile deffense,
Pour empescher que la verge donnée.
Que bien cognois point ne me fust ostée.
Mais que vault force là où est violence,
Emporter fault l'erreur par pacience:
De toutes parts lors dépouillé je fus,
Mais defendre n'y servit ne refus;
Et la manche de moi tant estimée
Par lourde main fut toute despecée.

(*a*) This assertion, which may be excused to the poet, hardly agrees with the relation of du Bellay, who says:—"Le Roy étant par terre fut de tous côtez assailli & pressé de pleusieurs de bailler la foy; ce qu'il ne vouloit faire & toujours tant qu'haleine lui dura se defendit—jusqu'à ce que le Vice Roi de Naples (Lannoy) arriva auquel le Roy bailla sa foy."

Las! quel regret en mon cueur fut bouté
Quant sans deffense ainsi me fust osté
L'heureux present, par lequel te promys,
Point ne fouyr devant mes ennemys.
Mais quoi j'estois sous mon cheval en terre,
Par ennemis alors porté par terre,
Dont ma deffense à l'heure ne valut
Contre mon gré ainsi Dieu le voulut.
Bien me trouva en ce piteux arroy
Exécutant leur chief le Viceroy;
Que quand me veit il descendit sans faille
Afin qu'aïde à ce besoin ne faille.
Las! que dirai, cela ne veulx nyer,
Vaincu je fus & rendu prisonnier,
Parmy le camp en tous lieux fus mené,
Pour me montrer ça & là pourmené.
O quel regret je soubstins à celle heure!
Quant je congneus plus ne faire demeure.
Avec moi la tant douce esperance
De mes amys retourner veoir en France;
Trop fort doubtant que l'amour de ma mere
Ne peult souffrir cette nouvelle amere,
Par desplaisir cause de ma prison,
Sans regarder qu'en tant triste saison
Ce seule confort de toute France est mys,
Sur sa vertu le gardant d'ennemys,
Et qu'en ma sœur ne demourast pouvoir,
Pour telle Dame & à son mal pourveoir,
Et si me feist la pitié lors entendre,
De mes enfans la jeunesse tant tendre,
Pour se savoir garder, ni defaire;
Contre nulluy qui leur voullust mal fare.
Mais certe amye, alors le souvenir,
De nostre amour ne faillist à venir.
Congnoissant trop qu'en la necessité,
Sur tout penser avoit l'autorité.
Ains pourquoy veulx à ceste heure prétendre,
Te declairer, n'aussi te faire entendre

Chose qui est de toy trop mieulx congneuë
Par soing d'amour que si l'avois veuë.
Bien je pensay très dolent à celle heure,
Avecques toy plus ne faire demeure,
Dont tout d'un coup je perdis l'ésperance
De mere, sœur, enfans, amye & France;
Par quoy je fus & suis sans nul plaisir,
Autour de moy ne souffrant nul desir,
Que supplier la Puissance infinie,
Que tant grand peine à heure soit convertie,
Et qu'il te doint à jamais le pouvoir,
D'avoir le bien qui t'est deu pour debvoir.
Et qu'en la fin tu sois bien mariée,
Vivante en paix, contente de lignée.
Quant est à moi j'ay resolution,
Nourrir ma vie en ton affection:
Ainsi passant le surplus de ma vie;
Sans qu'au monde j'ay regret n'y envie;
Avec honneur ayant fait mon debvoir.
Prisonnier suis chascun le peult savoir,
Cela contente assez l'adversité
De ma prison & infelicité:
Mais si le temps quelque jour veult permettre
Qu'en liberté puisse veoir remectre.
Pour retourner par fortune changée;
En ma prison qui ne peult estre aymée.
Que pour te veoir chose trop fort voluë,
A moy captif desirée & congnueuë:
Car lors sera convertie la douleur
Et notre mal en plaisir pour douleur
Tant acheté par tourmenté desir
De notre foy esprouvée en absence;
Lors recevra le fruict de recompense.
Pour tel effet ne se perd pas une heure,
En abregeant ceste longue demeuere,
Qui aux amys don'ra contentement
Si loy d'amours en tous ne fault ou ment.

De ceulx ne dys qui n'ont eus esperance,
En leur honneur, ni en ma déliverance.
Ores je suis en seur port arrivé,
Où pour certain j'ay par faict éprouve
Plus de pitié dedans les caux profundes
En mer cruelles adoulcissant ses undes,
Favorisant la mienne liberté
Qu'en tout le temps qu'en prison j'ai esté.
Je n'ay trouvé assez d'affection
En ceux qui m'ont tant d'obligation;
Et croy pour vray qu'en bien peu de couraige
Est demouré résolution saige,
Quoiqu'il en soit, amye, je mourray
En vostre loy et là je demourray.
Alors verront triomphant le plaisir
La liberté en prison sans doubtance
En mon vouloir point ne feront d'offense.
Si libre suys nos jours ensemble userons
Tous deux contens, ainsi le temps passerons.
Et si prison il faudra que j'endure
Y finïssant mes jours soubs peine dure,
Si demourrai-je en tel travail semblable;
Comme ay esté point ne seray muable,
Mort ne périst esloignement d'amys,
Ny les travaulx à quoy je suis soubmys;
Indignes sont de leur auctorité
Pour remuer la mienne volonté
Estant bien seur de toy que ton debvoir
Donne credit à ton ramentevoir
Et que le temps & la fascheuse absence
Avec oubly sur toy n'auront puissance.
Car ton amour qui tant est asseurée
En grand travail sera fortifiée,
Dont dire puis qu'esgale peine avons
Esgale offrande à amour nous debvons.
Pour ce faire fin c'est mon dernier vouloir,
En ton endroit de faire mon debvoir;

En suppliant le vouloir tant possible,
De te rendre ton plaisir impossible,
Vivant contente ayant la souvenance
De mon amour sans nul deffiance
Car au monde mon corps te laisse & donne;
Après la mort mon esprit te ordonne;
Los immortel, ton entier nom demy
Tesmoing en est la main de ton amy.

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In the same collection is a pastoral poem, entitled *Admetus*, which is as bad as all similar productions of the same age. Some of the smaller pieces which the collection contains are more favourable specimens of Francis's talent. The following is one:—

Le mal d'amour est plus grand que ne pense
Celui qui l'a seulement ouy dire;
Ce qui nous nous semble ailleurs légère offense
En amitié se répute martyre.
Chacun se plaint, et gemit et soupire;
Mais si survient une seule heure d'aise,
La douleur cesse, et la tourment s'appaise.

---

The verse *Juravitque oculos et doluere mei*, is thus paraphrased:—

Elle jura par ses yeux et les miens
Ayant pitié de ma longue entreprise,
Que mes malheurs se tourneroient en biens
Et pour cela me fut heure promise.
Je crois que dieu les femmes favorise
Car de quatres yeux qui furent parjuriés.
Rouges les miens devinrent sans feintise
Les siens en sont plus beaux et azurés.

A ballad, the burthen of which is "*Car la beauté de ceste vous empire,*" is turned with great neatness, and even with some poetical feeling :—

Estant seullet auprès d'uñe fenestre
Par ung matin comme le jour poignoit,
Je regarday Aurore à main senestre
Qui à Phébus le chemin enseignoit,
Et d'autre part m'amye qui peignoit
Son chef doré et vit ses luysans yeux
Dont me gecta un traict si gracieulx
Qu'a hault voix je fus contrainct de dire
" Dieux immortels ! rentrez dedans vous cieulx,
*Car la beauté de ceste vous empire.*"

Comme Phébé, quand ce bas lieu terrestre
Par sa clarté de nuict illuminoit,
Toute lueur demeuroit en sequestre,
Car sa splendeur toutes autres mynoit,
Ainsi madame en son regard tenoit
Tout obscurcy le soleil radieux,
Dont de despit lui triste et odieux,
Sur les humains lors ne daigna plus luyre ;
Par quoy lui dis : " Vous faictes pour le mieulx,
*Car la beauté de ceste vous empire.*"

O que de joie en mon cœur sentis naître,
Quand j'appercus que Phébus retournoit,
Desjà craignant qu'amoureux voulust estre
De la douceur qui mon cœur détenoit :
Avois-je tort ? Non car s'il y venoit
Quelque mortel, j'en serois soucieulx ;
Devois-je pas doncques craindre les Dieulx
Et despriser pour fuyr un tel martyre,
En leur criant : " Retournez dans vos cieulx,
*Car la beauté de ceste vous empire.*"

L'homme qui ayme, a desir curieux
D'esloigner ceux qu'il pense estre envieux
De son amour, et qu'il doute lui nuyre;
Par quoi j'ai dit au dieux très-glorieux
" *Que la beauté de ceste vous empire.*"

---

The collection contains a quantity of rondeaus and madrigals of no more than very ordinary merit. There are four lines in which the sentiment is ingeniously, though somewhat obscurely expressed:—

Dissimulez votre contentement
Sous un effort de foible résistance;
Le oüi sera en mon contentement
Et le nenny sera en mon silence.

---

The following madrigals are among the happiest specimens of this part of the royal poet's productions:—

A Ménélas et Pâris je pardonne;
L'un de sa femme importun demandeur
L'autre d'amyé obstiné défendeur,—
Mais du malheur des Troyens je m'éstonne;
Car s'il falloit que pour belle personne,
La ville fust quelque jour desmolyé
Périr pour vous, ma dame belle et bonne,
Luy eust été plus gloire que folie.
Celle qui fust de beauté si loüable
Que pour sa garde elle avoit une armée
A autre plusqu'à vous ne fut semblable,
Ne de Pâris son ami mieux aymée,
Que de chacun vous êtes estimée;
Mais il y a différence d'un point
Car à bon droit elle a été blasmée
De trop aymer, et vous de n'aymer point.

Disant bon soir une damoiselle,
Luy ay voullu de bon cœur demander
Si elle voulloit riens la nuict commander:
Elle m'a dit: que je n'aymasse qu'elle.
Telle douceur je trouve trop cruelle,
Car sa response interprêter je veulx
Saichant qu' amour se nourrit de querelle
Qu'elle a pensé qu'on en peult aymer deux.

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## No. IX.

(Vol. II. Page 241.)

PRESQUE tous les historiens nomment *la belle Féronnière*, sinon comme une des passions de François I., du moins comme un de ses goûts les plus constans. Ce fut elle, selon eux, qui lui coûta la vie, par une brutale et abominable vengeance de son mari. Si l'on en croit Louis Guyon, cette femme, aussi vertueuse que belle, désespéroit le Roi par ses rigueurs; mais les courtisans, qui savent aplanir toutes les difficultés, lui rappelèrent qu'étant roi, il étoit dispensé de plaire à une femme qu'il vouloit vaincre; ils allérent faire part à la femme même de cette noble idée; la Féronnière effrayée avertit son mari; tous deux voulurent sortir du royaume, mais ils jugèrent cette fuite impossible; alors, dans son désespoir, le mari exigea de sa femme qu'elle obéît au roi, et il alla dans les lieux de débauche chercher son indigne vengeance. Il en guérit, dit Mezerai; elle en mourut; le roi languit huit ou neuf ans. Le mari de la belle Féronnière étoit avocat, et l'on ne sait si l'on doit confondre cette maîtresse avec celle qu'on désigne seulement le nom *l'avocate*, et dont parle dans l'Heptaméron la reine de Navarre, confidente de toutes les galanteries de son frère. L'histoire de l'avocate est aussi gaie que celle de la Féronnière est horrible. Un grand seigneur

*qui m'en a fait le conte*, dit la reine de Navarre, *mais qui m'a defendu de le nommer*, se trouve à une noce avec cette jeune femme, l'aime, lui plaît, en reçoit un rendez-vous. Le prince (car la reine de Navarre lui donne ce titre, et dit *que la France n'a jamais eu et n' aura jamais de prince mieux fait ni de meilleur air*,) le prince arrive seul et de nuit chez l'avocat, il le rencontre sur l'escalier; l'avocat tenoit une bougie à la main, et à la faveur de cette lumière il reconnoît le prince; tandis qu'il s'étonne, le prince prend son parti, lui avoue qu'il est en bonne fortune dans le voisinage, et lui demande le secret. "Je me suis, dit-il, dérobé un moment pour venir, connoissant vos lumières et votre capacité, vous charger d'une affaire importante; mais je meurs de soif, faites-moi donner à boire." La femme vient pour servir le prince, qui ne la regarde point, et ne s'occupe que de l'affaire dont il étoit venu, disoit-il entretenir l'avocat; mais dans un moment où le mari étoit allé au buffet pour apporter à boire, la femme à genoux, présentant au prince des confitures, lui dit tout bas: *Entrez dans la garde-robe à droite.* Le prince, après avoir bien remercié l'avocat, et bien assuré la jeune femme qu'elle avoit le meilleur des maris, prend congé d'eux, L'avocat, trop respectueux, veux le reconduire: "Qu'allez-vous faire dit le prince; oubliez vous mon secret? Je dois et je veux être seul, je vous défends de faire un pas;" il ferme la porte sur lui, entre dans la garde-robe à droite, et passe la nuit chez l'avocat, qui s'applaudit de la confiance qu'un si grand prince lui temoigne sur ses affaires et sur ses plaisirs. L'intrigue dura long-temps, et le prince prit le parti dans la suite d'entrer chez l'avocate par une porte qui communiquoit à un couvent; il fit ses arrangements avec les moines, sans leur révéler le fond du mystère; au retour il passoit par leur église; c'estoit toujours à l'heure des matines; il s'arrêtoit dans une chapelle, et n'en sortoit point que les matines ne fussent finies. Ce prince avoit un sœur qui n'étoit

occupée que de lui, et qui vouloit que tout le monde s'en occupât; elle alloit quelquefois dans ce même couvent, et recommandoit son frère aux prières des religieux. *Ah! c'est à nous*, lui dit un jour le prieur, *à nous recommander aux siennes;* "c'est un saint; comment pourrions-nous appeler autrement un prince de son âge, qui presque tous les jours quitte le plaisir et le repos pour venir comme un simple religieux chanter matines avec nous?" La sœur, qui ne reconnoissoit point son frère à cet éloge, ne manqua pas de lui en rendre compte; à ce recit, le prince se mit à rire d'une manière qui annonçoit quelque intrigue, et sa sœur, qui, selon les termes de la reine de Navarre, *le connoissoit comme son propre cœur*, le pressa tant de s'expliquer, qu'il lui raconta toute l'histoire. La morale de ce conte chez la reine de Navarre, est qu'il n'y a point *d'avocats si malins, ni de moines si fins, qu'on ne puissent tromper, quand on aime bien.*

Cette histoire au reste n'a pas une circonstance qui ne soit parfaitement dans les mœurs du temps et dans le caractère du prince. Cette popularité si bien imitée depuis par Henry IV., distingua toujours François II. On ne doit pas même être étonnée de cette noce, où il se trouve avec le femme d'un avocat; il alloit partout. Souvent engagé dans les voyages ou égaré à la chasse il descendoit familièrement et sans être attendu chez les seigneurs de sa cour et les gentilshommes de son royaume, quelquefois même chez des gens d'une moindre condition. Son ardeur pour la chasse et son goût pour la galanterie l'y survoient. "*Le plus pauvre gentilhomme*, disoit-il, peut traiter très bien le plus grand prince, pourvu qu'il lui presente une belle femme, un beau cheval, et un beau lévrier." (*a*)

(*a*) Gaillard, l. ix. c. i.

## No. XI.

(Vol. II. Page 328.)

*Le Roy aux Estats de l'Empire assemblé à Nuremberg.*

MESSIEURS, j'ai tenu toujours pour certain que c'estoit chose peu seante à personne d'un empereur ou d'un roy, de debattre leurs affaires entr'eux en particuleur ou hautement par ecrits injurieux. Et si par le passé quelquefois contraint par la demesurée petulance des medisans, j'ay repondu aux calomnies qu'ils avoient amplement divulguées contre moy, je l'ai fait à fin que ma reputation ne demeurast pas en perpetuelle controverse, en quoy néant moins l'on a bien connu que j'en ay toujours usé bien modèrement et seulement à fin que l'impudence de mes calomniateurs fut evidemment connue à tout le monde; jusques la que le dernier du passé vous ayant exhorte par mes ambassadeurs de travailler pour la concorde et tranquillité de vostre estat desirant la Germanie estre purgée de tumultes et dissentions intestines et domestiques; afin qu'aprés avoir bien confirmé et mis en bon estat vos forces, si puis après le Turc faisoit quelque sortie contre vous, il ne vous put aucunement endommager on faire un degat de vostre plat pais: mes mal veillans ont impudemment exposé que je voulois vous detourner de celle guerre de laquelle certainement dependoit la ruine du Turc, alors j'ay mieux aime attendre que l'issue du fait vous monstrat si ce mien conseil estoit fidèle et à vous salutaire que par harrangues repondre à telles calomnies et pour vous mettre en fait un sommaire des medisances par lesquelles ils se sont efforcéz de noircir ma dignité. Vous avez bien la souvenance Messieurs que quand l'on me demanda secours pour la defense de la republique Chrestienne contre les entreprises du Turc; des ça ils tachèrent

des vous persuader qu'inhumainement je l'avois denié; comme si j'avois communication et intelligence pour cette guerre avec luy; mais par mes lettres et ambassades je montray bien le peu de foy que l'on pouvoit adjouter aux menteries des calomniateurs, promettant que si le cas le requeroit, et vous le trouviez bon, je voulois etre moy même en personne à cette grosse et dangereuse guerre; et même que j'offrois de souldoyer trente mille hommes de pied de vostre nation. Sur quoy vous ont été communiquéz aucuns doubles de lettres par lesquelles vous connoissez les demandes que me faisoit l'empereur; et à ce mes reponses sont ce choses qui monstrent que j'ay intelligence ou communication avec le Turc? Depuis néant moins je vous ay souventefois inculqué que j'avois pris alliance ou société avec luy, mais l'effet des choses a monstré que cen'estoit qu'une trêve ou surséance de guerre de laquelle n'estoit exclus aucun Chrestien qui y vouloit estre admis; laquelle mienne paction avec le Turc a donné de grandes commodités à 'empereur, et luy en eut donné de plus grandes s'il eut sçu ou voulu user d'icelles. Un peu de tems après que j'estois eu bon equipage, et bien fourny de toutes choses necessaires pour entrer en guerre, et qu'à ce faire m'incitoient beaucoup de raisons, mais principalement l'envie que j'avois de vanger la mort de mon ambassadeur Merveille, qui contre le droict des gens avoist esté tué, mêmement l'injure qui m'estoit faite par la detention qu'autruy faisoit de mon bien hereditaire. Alors l'empereur dressoit son armée de mer pour aller en Afrique: de peur que l'on ne pensast que je donnasse quelque empeschement à cette sienne entreprise, pour lors je dissimulay la douleur et vengeance du tort que l'on me faisoit et la differay jusques à son retour du voyage de Thunes; neantmoins pendant que je poursuivais ce qui avoit esté par plusieurs années, et trop longuement occupé, d'aucuns ne faisant aucune entreprise ou effort sur les villes ou places qui fussent en la juris-

diction de l'empereur vous scavez assez combien de lieux, et avec quelle fureur et violence il se jetta sur la royaume de France, et n'y a personne de vous qui n'ait bien ouy reciter la cruelle et abominable entreprise qui avoist este faite contre moy et ma lignee. Du quel outrage jaçoit qui nature à peine eu puisse souffrir l'oubliance; ce neautmoins autant qu'il a esté possible à la hauteur de mon courage j'avois mis tout enoubly et n'y voulois plus penser. Outre que le Pape pressoit fort d'en venir à quelque accommodation de paix, et de nous trouver ensemble pour mettre une bonne fin à cette haine inveterée par si longues années; de laquelle assemblée n'est sorty autre chose qu'une tréve. Je ne veux pas ici me plaindre comme peu sincerement les conditions m'y ont été gardée par l'empereur ny vous expliquer plus amplement de quelle bonté et liberalité sans reproche, et mesme de quelle constance de foy, en quelle difficulté et extremité de ces affaires, je l'ay reçu en mon royaume, pour aller en diligence par la Gaule vers ceux de Gand qui etoient sur le point de se revolter, et par ce moien pourvoir de bonne heure à ses affaires; et pour cette franchise et sincerité inestimable ou m'a enfin joué ce bon tour que Cesar Fregose, chevalier de mon ordre, et Antoine Rincon, mon ambassadeur, ont esté au duche de Milan, par ses commis, cruellement tuéz et depouillez de leurs papiers et de tout qu'ils portoient avec eux. Et pour mieux cacher cette cruauté et inhumanité ces mechans et abandonnez meurtriers ont mis sur ces pauvres victimes une accusation et ont semé malicieusement par tout le monde qu'on a trouvé lettres sur eux par les quelles je priois le Turc de venir contre les Chrestiens. Mais pour la fausseté de ce bruit ceux là seuls ont la connoissance qui l'ont mis en avant; a scavoir les cruels meurtriers de mes gens. Quand je demanday à l'empereur par plusieurs lettres satisfaction de cette injure, il en fit une si grande mocquerie, que j'ay esté constraint, tant de droit pour soutenir ma

dignité et reputation de venger par armes cette injure que si je ne voulois etre tenu pour le prince du plus foible cueur et plus prest à recevoir contumelie qui soit et qui sera jamais au monde. Et après que j'ay eu delibéré d'executer ce dessein et que j'etois des jà, après voicy une nouvelle entreprise que l'empereur nous va dresser contre le royaume de Barberousse, qui ayant esté cause que je retarday mon armée, non seulement jusques à mon retour, mais bien jusques à plus long temps ayant esperance que par quelque voye honneste il me feroit faire reparation de cette injure: et après m'estre veu hors de cette opinion, et en avoir tout à fait perdu l'esperance, j'ay delibéré de poursuivre par armes ce que je n'ay pu par aucune raison tirer d'un homme injurieux enquoy chacun de vous pouvra facilement juger si je n'ay pas bien faict: car je vous estime tous trop equitables pour penser que vous n'ayez pas le sentiment d'une juste douleur quand vous avez receu quelque outrage. Pourquoy chacun de vous doit en soy-même mesurer mon deuil, et regarder si je pourrois porter un moment de témps ce que j'ay souffert, et de quoy j'ay attendu si long témps la vengeance. Et pour revenir à nostre fait je vous prie d'entendre ce que l'empereur non content de la mort et du meurtre abominable de mes gens a de nouveau controuvée contre moy, et comment est vraisemblable sa raison de la quelle il tache de persuader comme par voye publique de prêcher que l'armée du Turc est attirée tous les ans contre les Chrestiens à ma priére et requeste, et qu'a cette fin je mene la guerre en Italie et sans cesse recommence la même chaison seulement pour s'expenpter de tourner ses armes contre le dit Turc; et si de fortune dorenavant il plut de ce propos que toutes ses forces sont occupés à me repousser, et qu'à cette cause il ne peut donner aidte aux Chrestiens contre le Turc; que dira il de cette armée laquelle outre celle qu'il m'a mis en barbe il a envoyé depuis peu contre le duc de Juliers. De

plus je voudrois bien que vous eussiez considerez qu'il n'y a pas d'autre que l'empereur Charles qui ait attiré contre les Chrestiens les Turcs, qui sont comme enragés de l'outrage qu'ils ont receu, et comme c'est qui a entretenu ce grand feu, qui des jà par plusieurs fois a provoqué un si puissant prince plutost par ostentation et je ne scay quelles vaines menaces, que par les forces qui pour ce faire estoient requises. Et vous a poussé, vous qui ne pensiez en rien de ce feu, lequel il espére esteindre, non pas par sa ruine, mais par la vostre. Parquoy j'accepte sans aucun difficulté pour arbitre un chacun qui sera d'equité et de bon jugement, à scavoir si après une si longue patiénce de laquelle j'ay usé en la dilater de la vengeance de l'outrage que j'avois receu je me devois appaiser ou bien acquiescer et servir de l'insolence de mon ennemy, pour les entreprises que l'empereur fait contre le roy des Turcs: car il cache sous ces titres pieux les interests particuliers qu'il a en ses guerres, sa cupidité de gloire et son insatiable ambition. Certes je ne crois pas que vous soyez d'advis qu'il soit licité a l'empereur d'inferer toutes injures à un chacun sans permettre la revanche à celuy qui sera par lui injurié, ou que vous luy concediez qu'il soit bien dechargé de quelque chose que ce soit, pourveu qu'il fasse semblant de dresser une armée contre les ennemis de la religion Chrestienne; mais puisqu'il a plut ainsi à Dieu que le pape a pris la charge de moyenner une bonne paix entre nous avec certaines conditions raisonnables, et que pour ce fait dernierement il envoya vers chacun de nous deux de ses ambassadeurs, à cette heure par la reponse de tous deux aux dits ambassadeurs du Pape vous pourrez facilement donner sentence et jugement, lequel des deux a preferé ses particuliers advantages et lequel a eu en plus grande recommandation la paix et la tranquillité de la republique Chrestienne, et lequel plus promptement et sans redite ait ensuyvy les conditions qui ont esté proposées on de vous ou du pape. Certes je vous

eusse pu messieurs icy plus amplement et plus abondament informer de mon droict; mais j'ay voulu mettre et abréger la chose nuement et simplement, vous asseurant que je ne serai jamais tant chargé par mes calomniateurs, ou aliénes de vous, que particulièrement pour vôstre empire et communment pour la defense de la republique Chrestienne, je n'entreprenne ce qui appartient au titre du roy tres Chrestien, duquel je suis orné pardessus les autres princes, et ce qui requiert la trés ancienne et jamais rompue alliance des royaume de France avec le sacré empire des Romains.

Reverendissimes reverends, illustrissimes illustres, hauts et puissants, nobles et notables princes, evesques, abbéz, comtes, barons chevaliers, citoyens et messieurs des citéz, et generalement tous les estats de la noble Germanie et au sacré empire des Romains: mes trés chers cousins, amis et confederez, nostre seigneur veuille garder et augmenter vos amplitudes. Donné en la ville de Magnigeste, 9 Janvier, 1543.

FRANÇOIS.

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## No. XII.

(Vol. II. Page 371.)

UNE lettre écrite d'Amiens par le nonce du Pape, le 18 Septembre, 1545, et addressée aux présidens du concile de Trente, contient, sur cet événement des particularités qui confirment le récit de Ferron. Le duc d'Orleans arrivé le 4 Septembre au camp du roi, entre Abbeville et Montreuil, apprend que la peste ravage le pays; il veut braver ce danger; il va dans une maison où huit personnes, venoient de mourir de cette maladie; il se couche sur leurs lits, se couvre de la plume infectée qui en sort, et parcourt dans cet état plusieurs tentes du camp, comme pour y porter le venin qu'il venoit de prendre. Il se sent échauffé, il oublie que son frère

aîné est mort pour avoir bu un verre d'eau ayant trop chaud, il en boit un et se couche; deux heures après le frissou et le mal de tête se font sentir. *Ah!* dit le prince, *c'est la peste, j'en mourrai.* Il se confesse, les remèdes paroissent réussir, et le 9th on le crut hors de danger: mais ce jour même le redoublement le saisit; il demande le viatique, il demande à voir le roi François I. l'ayant appris, accourt malgré le danger, malgré les remonstrances de tout le monde. Dés que le jeune prince le vit entrer: *Ah, mon seigneur!* s'écria-t-il, *je me meurs, mais puisque je vois votre majesté je meurs content;* il expire à l'instant aux yeux du roi, qui jette un grand cri, et s'évanouit. Revenu à lui, son premier soin, au millieu de sa douleur, fut d'éloigner toute sa cour de ce lieu funeste, et de prendre les précautions les plus sages pour arréter les progres de la contagion. (*a*)

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## No. XIII.

(Vol. II. Pages 338 and 387.)

THE defection of the count of Furstemberg from the French king's service, and the causes which led to it, have been made the subject of one of the queen of Navarre's talés, in which the courage and magnanimity of Francis appear in a remarkable light:—

EN la ville de Dijon au duché de Bourgongne vint au seruice du Roy François vn comte d'Alemagne nommé Guillaume, de la maison de Saxonne, dont celle de Sauoye est tant alliee, qu'anciénement n'estoit qu'vne. Le Comte auta't estimé beau & hardy gentil-homme qui fust point en Alemagne, eut si bon recueil du Roy, que non seuleme't le print en son seruice, mais le tint pres de luy & de sa chambre. Vn iour le gouuerneur de Bourgongne seigneur de la Trimouille (ancien cheualier &

(*a*) Gaillard, l. ix. c. 1.

loyal seruiteur du Roy) comme celuy qui estoit soupçonneux & craintif du mal, & dommage de son maistre auoit tousiours des espies à l'entour de son ennemy, pour sçauoir qu'il faisoit; & se gouuernoit si sagement, que peu de choses luy estoyent celées. Entre autres aduertissemens, il luy fut escrit par vn de ses amis, que le Comte Guillaume auoit prins quelque somme de deniers, auec promesse d'en auoir d'auantage, pour faire mourir le Roy en quel que sorte que peust estre. Le seigneur de la Trimouille ne faillit point d'en venir aduertir le Roy, & ne le cela à madame Loïse de Sauoye sa mere, laquelle oublia l'alliance qu'elle auoit à cest Alemant, & supplia le Roy de le chasser bien tost; lequel la requist de n'en parler point; & qu'il estoit impossible qu'vn si honneste gentil-homme, & tant homme de bien entreprinst vne si grande meschanceté. Au bout de quelque temps vint encores vn autre aduertissement, confirmant le premier. Dont le gouuerneur bruslant de l'amour de son maistre, luy demanda congé ou de le chasser, ou d'y donner ordre: mais le Roy luy commanda expressement de n'en faire nul semblant, & pensa bien que par autre moyen il en sçauroit la veritée Vn iour qu'il alloit à la chasse, print la meilleure espee qu'il estoit possible de voir pour toutes armes, & mena auccques luy le Comte Guillaume, auquel il commanda de le suyure le premier & de pres: mais apres auoir quelque temps couru le cerf, le Roy voyant que ses gens estoyent loing de luy, fors le Comte seulement, se destourna de tous chemins. Et quand il se vid auec le Comte au plus profond de la forest seul, en tirant son espee, dist au Comte, Vous semble-il, que ceste espee soit belle & bonne? Le Comte en la maniant par le bout luy dist qu'il n'en auoit veu nulle qu'il pensast meilleure. Vou auez raison, dist le Roy, & me semble que si vn gentilhomme auoit deliberé de me tuer, & qu'il eust conneu la force de mon bras, & la bonté de mon cœur accompagné de ceste espee, il penseroit deux fois à m'assaillir:

toutes fois ie le tiendrois pour bien meschant, si nous estions seul à seul sans tesmoings, s'il n'osoit executer ce qu'il auroit entreprins. Le Comte Guillaume luy respondit auec visage estonné. Sire la meschanceté de l'entreprinse seroit bien grande: mais la folie de la vouloir executer, ne seroit pas moindre. Le Roy en se prenant à rire remit l'espee au fourreau, & escoutant que la chasse estoit pres de luy, piqua apres, le plustost qu'il peut. Quand il fut arriué, il ne parla à nul de cet affaire, & s'asseura que le Comte Guillaume, combien qu'il fust vn aussi fort & dispost gentil-homme qui se trouuast lors, n'estoit homme pour faire vne si haute entreprinse. Mais le Comte Guillaume craignant estre decelé ou soupçonné du faict, vint le lendemain matin dire à Robertet secretaire des finances du Roy, qu'il auoit regardé aux bien-faicts & gages que le Roy luy vouloit donner pour demeurer auec luy: toutesfois, qu'ils n'estoyent pas suffisans, pour l'entretenir la moitié de l'annee. Et que, s'il ne plaisoit au Roy luy en bailler la moitié au double, il seroit contraint de se retirer, priant ledit Robertet d'en sçauoir le plustost qu'il pourroit la volonté du Roy. Qui luy dist, qu'il ne sçauroit plus s'aduancer, que d'y aller incontinent sur l'heure: & print ceste commission volontiers: car il auoit veu les aduertissemens du gouuerneur. Et ainsi que le Roy fut esueillé, ne faillit à faire sa harangue, present monsieur de la Trimouille, & l'Admiral Bonniuet, lesquels ignoroyent le tout que le Roy auoit fait. Ledit seigneur leur dist: vous auiez enuie de chasser le Comte Guillaume, & vous voyez qu'il se chasse de luy-mesme. Parquoy luy direz, que s'il ne se contente de l'estat qu'il a accepté entrant en mon seruice, dont plusieurs gens de bo'nes maisons se sont tenus bien heureux, c'est raison qu'il cherche ailleurs meilleure fortune: & quant à moy, ie ne l'empescheray point; mais ie seray trescontent, qu'il trouue party tel, qu'il puisse viure, comme il merite. Robertet fut aussi diligent de porter ceste res-

ponse au Comte, qu'il auoit esté de presenter sa requeste au Roy. Le Comte dist, qu'auec son congé il deliberoit donc de s'en aller. Et comme celuy que la peur contraignoit de partir, ne la sceut porter vingt-quatre heures. Mais comme le Roy se mettoit à table, print congé de luy, feignant auoir grand regret, dont sa necessité luy faisoit perdre sa presence. Il alla aussi prendre congé de la mere du Roy, laquelle le luy donna aussi ioyeusement qu'elle l'auoit receu comme parent & amy: ainsi s'en alla en son païs. Et le Roy voyant sa mere & ses seruiteurs estonnez de ce soudain partement, leur conta l'alarme qu'il luy auoit donnee, disant qu'encores qu'il fust innocent de ce qu'on luy mettoit sus, si auoit esté sa peur assez grande, pour l'eslongner d'vn maistre dont il ne connoissoit pas encores les complexions.—*L'Heptameron. Journée Seconde. Nouv.* xvii.

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## No. XIV.

(Vol. II. Page 393.)

THERE is a manuscript in the British Museum, (Bibl. Harl. 6205), remarkable for the beauty of its penmanship, and of the drawings it contains; and which alludes to the birth of Henry as the period of its composition. It details a supposed conversation between Francis the First and Julius Cæsar, in which, in reply to the interrogatories of the French monarch, the Emperor goes through the whole of the first book of his Commentaries, and the narrator of the dialogue adds occasional notes for the purpose of explaining by their then present appellations the several places mentioned by Cæsar, and of drawing a parallel between the two warriors, the result of which is very flattering to Francis. It commences thus: " Françoys par la grace de Dieu, Roy de France, *second*

*Cæsar*, Victeur et Domateur des Souycez (*Suisses*) le dernier jour d'Avril, ung mois après la nativité de son secund filz, (1519) en son parc de Saint Germain en Laye, rancontra Jule Cæsar, et l'interrogea subtilement du contenu du premier lyvre des commentairez.

" Cæsar premier subjugateur des Helvecez, luy fit gracieuse responce, en l'advertissant veritablement de la nature des Souyces et Allemans, et de plusieurs aultres chozes bonnez et profitablez, des quellez on le doit croire, car il est seur et fiable tesmoing, non parlant par ouy dire."

The conversation being concluded, the narrator adds, " Aprez que le roi en son parc de Saint Germain en Laye, heut longuement divise et tenu propoz à Cæsar des chozes predictez, il se retira en la chambre de madame, pour luy compter son adventure. Et Cæsar s'an alla tout seul, je ne scay où, car il ne voulust qu'on lui feist compagnie."

A coloured map of France is folded up in the volume, and miniature portraits of Francis and of Augustus Cæsar, whose effigy has been often copied from his coins by mistake for that of Julius, are at the commencement of the work. In the course of it are found twelve drawings which bear the date 1519, and are marked with the letter G., evidently the production of a superior artist.

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